

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XXIII

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An unfinished drawing made in the Hull House Studio about 1915

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THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

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MEDICAL CARE AND THE FAMILY BUDGET

NEVA R. DEARDORFF AND DEAN A. CLARK, M.D.*

BETTER conditions for the families of the United States in the rendering of, and in the paying for, medical care require measures that reconcile three highly complex and many-sided sets of factors: (1) the wide variation in incomes and the diverse spending habits among the families of this country, (2) the nature of illness, its unpredictable character coupled with the possibilities of prevention and control, and (3) the heterogeneous aspirations and convictions of the medical profession. There are many other angles in the total design, such as the programs, policies, and financial condition of voluntary hospitals as third parties and the part played by governmental programs and policies; but, in the main, the essence of the matter lies in the relation between persons and families who need medical care and who are expected to pay for it, on the one hand, and doctors who are competent to render it, on the other.

Families range in income from millions to nothing. They live in sparsely settled places, in towns and villages, in small cities, and in vast, densely populated metropolitan centers. Medical prac-

tice ranges from that of the lone outpost doctor who must try to perform every kind of needed medical service to that in highly evolved organizations made up of medical men who have specialized in a single disease, such as tuberculosis or cancer, or in the conditions of an age group, such as children or aged, or in the conditions related to work, such as industrial or aviation medicine. In view of these almost limitless ramifications of subject matter it is necessary to exercise some selection. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to the issues presented by the problem of providing good medical care for city families of moderate means or less. Although people outside cities have much the same kinds of ailments as city people, the economics of the practice of medicine, the nature of family income and expense, and the special geographical and cultural factors in such places present issues that are distinctive. Rural communities and the larger groupings of people who are interested in them face an order of problems other than those that confront urban communities. Correspondingly, the solutions to these rural problems will have to be of an order other than the solutions that can be worked out in the cities. We shall not attempt an analysis here of the

*Miss Deardorff is director of research and statistics, and Dr. Clark is medical director, of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York.

problems of medical care for rural populations. The most sweeping, brief review now available of the whole subject of medical care in the United States is the chapter on the subject in the volume published by the Twentieth Century Fund in 1947 on *America's Needs and Resources*.¹

MEDICAL CARE AND THE CITY FAMILY

In cities families are constantly being told of the advance of medical science and its vast accomplishments both in the prevention and in the cure of disease. The resources in physicians, hospitals, and laboratories to achieve these benefits are physically present there within plain sight. But many people are under the strong impression that these wonderful boons of medical science are readily attainable only by the rich who can pay and by the poor who are willing to accept charity, administered either by institutions such as hospitals or clinics or at the hands of the private doctor. Families find this hard to take; they cherish the belief that "the American way of life" permits a wide range of choice in satisfying needs and wants, and they recognize a correlative duty to pay the price when choice is exercised. They want the right to pick out a physician who inspires their confidence, and they want to pay their way. But the problem is how to do that within their means. They must meet all their varied requirements out of a cash income that in most cases carries only a small margin beyond their "living expenses," i.e., rent, food, clothing, and transportation to and from work.

The budget necessary to provide for a family of four on a reasonably adequate standard of living in thirty-four cities in

the United States in June, 1947, oscillates around \$58 per week for expenses other than medical care. The estimate made by the Twentieth Century Fund² of the cash income distribution for families in the United States in 1950 places 69 per cent of the families of two or more persons in the groups with less than \$3,000 (i.e., about \$58 per week), 21 per cent with incomes between \$3,000 and \$5,000, and 10 per cent with incomes above that amount.

Medical care under private practice and paid for when service is utilized is expensive in the sense that it bears down hard on family financing. This is so in part because illness comes irregularly, but when it does appear it often involves expense which amounts to a substantial figure. The cost of one or two home calls of a physician, a few visits at his office, a couple of days in the hospital, and a series of laboratory tests can easily equal the size of a week's wages of a relatively well-paid worker. A serious acute condition will involve still greater expense, while a chronic condition requiring repeated medical observation and elaborate treatment is something that puts a severe strain, if privately financed, even on incomes that are considerably above the lower brackets. Its cost cannot be borne at all after a very short period by people of "modest" means. Since illness in the family frequently creates not only medical but other expense and in some instances jeopardizes income itself, the more thoughtful and conscientious the family, the more apprehensive it is bound to be if there is no bulwark to protect it in time of need.

It is true that families receiving income above the level of subsistence can save to get money ahead for medical bills, but there is no assurance that ill-

¹ Prepared by J. Frederick Dewhurst and Associates, with Margaret C. Klem and Helen Hollingsworth, authors of the chapter on medical care.

² *America's Needs and Resources*, p. 67.

ness will await a sufficient accumulation to take care of them. Moreover, it is not reasonable to expect people to put saving for an uncertain contingency, however much it may haunt them, ahead of attending to an obvious present need, especially when they know that they cannot really plan for the emergency anyhow either in the amount which will be required or in the timing of its arrival.

But given a feasible way to make systematic and dependable provision for taking care of their needs, ordinarily prudent people will make such provision. The enormous volume of life insurance now in effect in this country is eloquent testimony of the truth of this generalization, as are the millions of homes established on "budget plans." There is every reason to believe that city families, sensitized as they are to medical care, would buy it in the right quantity and of the best quality if they could.

AMERICAN DOCTORS IN THE PRIVATE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE

Let us turn now to the doctors who must render the services of which medical care in large part consists. Medical personnel in the cities is made up, first, of physicians all of whom have invested in a costly and lengthy education, who are not only proud of medical advances but also conscious of their own need to keep abreast of them; who in varying degrees require expensive equipment (subject to rapid obsolescence) with which to establish diagnoses and to administer treatment; and who must incur considerable current expense for office help, space, automobile, drugs, and supplies. As in the case of any other profession, at one extreme there are a few men and women who love the practice of medicine so deeply that they will follow it with little, if any, regard for financial

reward. At the other extreme are a few who love money so much that they will exploit every opportunity afforded by medical practice to get it. In between is the vast majority of physicians who want primarily what is necessary for them to maintain themselves and their families at a decent and respectable standard of living, to educate their children, and to provide modestly for their old age. They work hard, as a rule six days a week and frequently at night. They live almost constantly in an atmosphere of anxiety, with life itself often at stake. Stomach ulcers and coronary thrombosis appear among them as well as among their patients.

As members of a "learned profession" they wish to practice medicine privately, in the sense that they want no meddling supervision interposed between them and their patients. They want professional organization under their own control, and they see no reason for mixing medical politics with the other kinds. They want freedom of the profession to exercise full authority in medical matters. In recent years they have included medical economics as one of the domains over which they have thought they should exercise exclusive control. In most urban communities there are medical societies with committees on medical economics which speak for the profession, but sometimes without underlying unanimity of opinion among the doctors.

MEDICAL CHARITY A CONTROLLING ELEMENT IN MEDICAL ECONOMICS

The keystone in the arch of medical economics, both in theory as ordinarily propounded by old-line medical men and in the practice of many a younger one, is medical charity. A considerable fraction of the population of cities is dependent upon it for medical care. Since very few

doctors can afford to be philanthropists, they are compelled to recoup themselves somehow. They do this by a means that is essentially a sickness tax placed upon those who, in the opinion of the physician, can afford to pay. In effect this system puts the doctor in the business of not only rendering medical care as such but also being a dispenser of aid, an assessor, and a tax collector.

In order to prevent complete chaos through competitive fees, medical societies have often fixed the minimums if any charge is to be made at all for services of various kinds; and schedules have been set for workmen's compensation cases and services for veterans. In all these instances it is evident that there has been a loading to recoup the doctor for free service, since, if a physician were fully engaged at such rates, his income could attain somewhat startling dimensions. With no relation in the case of the individual doctor between the free services actually rendered and this recoupment, the whole system is haphazard any way you look at it.

That there is need to get away from medical charity as viewed by the recipient, few would deny. Its highly unsavory character is attested by the fact that of all the modern terms casting opprobrium upon those in receipt of aid (the term of "pauper" now being somewhat archaic) that of "charity patient" is the most humiliating. In recent decades the condition of people able to finance their shelter, food, and clothing, but not their medical care, has been described as "medical indigence," with overtones little better than those of the older term. Moreover, free medical care has often been coupled with conditions that pretty thoroughly confused its purposes and that often attracted not those interested in the health of the poor but physicians

with entirely different concerns. The free patient is regularly used as teaching material if he has a condition that warrants use of him. This usually guarantees him authentic medical attention but often entails atrocious social procedures. Staff positions on hospitals with free clinic and ward patients, whether public or voluntary, are greatly coveted for their prestige values, for their opportunities to widen clinical experience, and, if it is a voluntary hospital, for the privileges they carry to use the hospital for private patients. Medical education, both initial and subsequent, is of the greatest significance and obviously should be greatly encouraged and strengthened; but it does not follow that people unable to pay for their medical care are inevitably destined forever to be the principal proving ground for medical education, study, and experiment. That honor and duty could well be shared in a democratic society by those not under economic duress. The forward-looking teaching institutions are well aware of this and are planning their programs accordingly.

The crux of most of the difficulties in the administration of free medical care to the medically indigent lies in the fact that the producer of the service must also be the functioning philanthropist. Except for tradition there is no more reason to expect a doctor to provide free medical service than to expect a farmer to provide free food, or a clothing manufacturer free clothing, or a landlord free housing. Indigence is a matter to be established as an economic condition with basic needs supplied not as an integral part of the practice of medicine (or the operation of hospitals, for that matter) but out of funds either given voluntarily for that purpose or derived from taxation broadly assessed.

By and large, medical charity will

never be other than it is so long as the relation between doctor and free patient is attended by the sharp realization on the part of both that the doctor is giving something for which he would normally be compensated. And equally bad, if not actually worse, from the broad social point of view, the fees charged private patients will continue to be "loaded" so long as doctors can point to the free work that they are expected to perform for the poor. People in the lower-income brackets who would like to pay their way cannot afford to be philanthropists, or special taxpayers either, particularly when they are sick. That is the poorest possible time to force them into that position. It is of the utmost importance that as many people as possible be enabled to pay their way medically by the removal of the "loading" and that the financing of the care of the remainder be made through community arrangements. Doctors should be freed of all responsibility for engaging personally in the equalizing of their patients' economic status. They will, of course, remain highly influential in the determination of the broad policies governing the provision of health service and medical care of those who cannot pay, but that will be in the higher echelon of community leadership and planning. The physician attending a given patient does not need to know the source of his compensation so long as it is just and fair in amount and sure to be paid.

ENABLING FAMILIES TO BUDGET MEDICAL EXPENSE

Under present conditions medical expense is, as was said above, high when it comes and in many instances cruelly disorganizing in its effect on family planning. To many people it has meant debts to doctors; to others resort to loan com-

panies with their heavy interest charges; to still others the rubbing-out of plans for education, for home improvement, for having a child, for realizing some other long-cherished dream.

But worse still are the situations in which the family tries to avoid medical expense by delaying the visit to the physician or by the resort to self-medication or to the unqualified practitioner. The universal and long-standing testimony on the correction, or the lack of correction, of physical defects found through the medical inspection of school children—to say nothing of the conditions brought to light through the examinations of the young men drafted for military service—should have made us question far more persistently just why this neglect occurs. One can but surmise that many conscientious parents, seeing no way to pay the regular fees of physicians, faltered before the choice of the free clinic, when there was one at hand, and the doctor who might be obtained "cheap."

What would enable a family with a limited income to buy for itself good medical care? Briefly, the answer is a budget item for prepaid medical care. A great many families now know that some order can be introduced into their financial affairs by means of a budget and that such planning helps them to get better values out of their expenditures because it forces them to give some thought to the choices that they make. They are aware of the necessity of budgeting if they are to satisfy their desires for the more expensive things. They also know that families—like other units in society, including even governmental units—can gain control over expenditure only through setting a plan that currently reconciles outgo with income. But they also know that, if left to the forces of

chance, medical expense as now assessed may sooner or later wreck the family budget, especially if that budget is operating on a narrow margin. That is, it may either wreck the budget or drive the family to free care. When the need continues for any great length of time, free care is inevitable, with or without a financial debacle in the family budget. So a family budget, to be really effective, must cover medical care. But that is only possible if the necessary provision for it can be seen in advance and if the budget carries an item of adequate size for it.

Parenthetically it should be noted that family budgeting is not only a means of control by the family itself, it is also a means of revelation both to the individual and to the community. Family budgets are the real evidence of the American standard of living—that concept of well-being which means so much to us here in America and which shines like rosy dawn throughout the world. Just what is that standard in terms of medical care? Nobody can answer that precisely, either in terms of the services now being received or in terms of the dollars that do or should stand in the family budget for medical care.³ But we are slowly getting

³ See "The City Worker's Family Budget: General Description of Purpose and Methods Followed in Developing the Budget of 34 Cities in the Spring of 1946 and Summer of 1947," *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1948, prepared by Lester S. Kellogg and Dorothy S. Brady, chief of the Prices and Cost of Living Branch and chief of the Cost of Living Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

"The needs for medical and dental care, as services directly related to physical health, probably will eventually be formulated in a set of actuarial standards approved by the medical and dental profession and other informed authorities. At present, the detailed and authentic statistical data necessary to the formulation of such a set of standard requirements do not exist. It is, therefore, not possible to adapt the budget determination of the medical care requirements to any set of standards corresponding to those used for food and housing.

"The medical and dental standards established

around to it as we shall indicate a little later. It is intended here only to point out that from every point of view it is essential to fix the size of that item so that people can plan to take care of it. The medical profession and the hospitals for whose services that money will largely be expended; the employer and the labor union, concerned about the wage expected to finance the family budget, need to know its size and the ways in which the aggregate sums in family budgets can be brought to produce for each family the care required on its day of need.

As we have said earlier, no one can predict what any given person or family may need in any given year, but we are rapidly learning what a group of families chosen at random will require. In so far as we know that set of facts, referred to in professional circles as "utilization," as we get to a satisfactory agreement with the medical profession as to what is adequate compensation for the required amount of service, and as we can estimate properly the allowance for administrative costs, we are pretty well set to go into the business of insuring people for the expense of their medical care. The magic of averages, as Winston Churchill phrases it, can be relied upon to determine the size of the premium that the family must pay for the assurance that, within the limitations of the whole economic system (such as inflation and

in this budget are characteristic of an income level above that of the other groups of goods and services. This corresponds to the generally accepted observation that the majority of United States families have not been receiving a satisfactory volume of these essential services. There is considerable evidence that the medical care sought by families at all income levels is gradually increasing. This increase reflects both more widespread use of insurance plans, credit arrangements, and medical prepayment plans and also increased public education in the necessity of more adequate medical and dental care."

widespread unemployment which destroys productive power and income), its needed medical care will have been paid for. Such are the essentials for bringing medical care within the reach of family budgets, thus enabling the largest possible number of families to pay their own way. Many who are medically indigent in the face of sudden need for costly medical care are not so in terms of insurance.

But there is much more to the story than that, and it is these other phases of the total situation that get badly tangled up in the minds of both doctors and laymen. One of the most confusing of these is the manner in which physicians are reimbursed for their services under an insurance plan, be it under either public or voluntary auspices. This in turn is keyed into the question of whether and how family doctors and medical specialists are teamed up to render the needed services and how disease prevention and health promotion are woven into the plan. These and other phases are so closely interlocking that it is only by first listing a series of obvious desiderata and then examining the means by which each can be attained that it is possible to escape from obfuscation of issues and general confusion about ways and means. We are, therefore, listing a series of seven criteria of a good plan for prepaid medical care. These are the prime things for which to look and to provide in any realignment of medical economics.

CRITERIA FOR PLANS OFFERING PREPAID MEDICAL CARE

1. Since nobody knows in advance the kind of illness that he or his dependents are going to have, preventive services, health education, and treatment applicable to all types of acute and chronic conditions must be covered, with the exceptions clearly stated. The exceptions may properly include the ones for which public

responsibility is now fully established, as in the case of workmen's compensation cases, or the long-time care of the mentally ill, or those that involve no health issues, as the correcting of cosmetic defects, or those that still defy planning for adequate care, such as dentistry, the total need for which among adults could not possibly be met by the existing supply of dentists, whatever the amount and method of payment or the organization of service.

2. The plan must be so organized as to offer its benefits to the largest possible proportion of the families living in the community which it is designed to serve.

3. A high quality of care must be guaranteed. Quality has to do with both the competence and the interest of physicians, with the use of specialist services, hospitals, visiting nurses, and with the co-ordination between family physicians, specialists, and the auxiliary personnel. In this connection the whole of the organization must be alive to the importance of medical education and research. It must be prepared to co-operate with institutions engaged in education and research if they exist in the area and in any case to co-operate with and aid in advancing educational and research activities among the physicians of its community.

4. The policies of the plan must make possible a real experimentation with methods of payment and operation as experience indicates these should be modified and altered.

5. The amount of the remuneration to physicians and the conditions of participation must be such as to attract and hold men who, though they love the practice of medicine, also want to do right by their own families. The system of remuneration must also be such as will give physicians incentive to prevent disease and to promote health among the persons and families in their care.

6. The charges should be levied and paid in such way as to facilitate family budgeting and low administrative cost. The plan must be set in such a way as to achieve a maximum of working-together among physicians in arriving at a diagnosis, in treatment planning, and in carry-through and a minimum of waste in medical and technical services and of patients' time and strength. At the same time, each family must have reasonable opportunity to choose the doctor whom it wishes as its family physician, with freedom to change for cause.

7. All questions pertaining to medical competence and the performance of physicians must

be left to a medical authority which should be organized and equipped to deal adequately with the medical questions brought to the attention of the administrators of the service. Ultimate responsibility for the operation of the economic aspects of the service, however, should rest with a group composed of physicians, direct consumers, and a goodly proportion of representatives of the public interest.

Most of these are self-evidently necessary objectives and safeguards for any plan that purports to bring good medical care within the means of families with limited incomes. Only a few words need to be added to indicate something of the methods of achieving each of them. Points 1, 3, and 6, when taken together, dictate that care must be provided by a team of physicians working closely together and that this team must include representatives of all the recognized medical specialties. This means the group-practice of medicine in a well-equipped and efficiently operated "medical center." Point 3 implies that these self-organized groups must be under the general aegis of a central medical authority constantly on guard to see that all the medical personnel is up to standard on admission to the groups and continues on that level. When there is affiliation with a medical school, that usually helps to lift the quality of service still higher. Moreover, it now helps medical education to have an adjunct service which exemplifies the best medical practice, in its social adaptations as well as in its technical phases. Future physicians should be trained to treat and instruct private patients as well as those who must seek service in public clinics. Fortunately, programs to this end are beginning to appear in medical colleges.

Point 2 is clearly inherent in any program which desires to be of real service to the community.

With regard to point 4 it is apparent

that an experimental approach is essential. We are today far from the place where anyone can with certainty state at the outset that one particular method is correct at all times and in all places. Workable solutions to our problem cannot be found unless we are prepared to learn from experience and to act accordingly.

It is believed that the ends sought under point 5 can best be accomplished by arrangements made with groups of doctors by a central administrative unit—the insurance service. This central body collects the premiums and with those funds purchases the right to comprehensive service as needed by the families. This right is acquired upon the payment of a "capitation" to the medical group for each person for the period specified in the premium—a month, three months, or a year. The capitation has to be large enough to give the group whose physicians are fully occupied with insured persons an income that meets the generally accepted beliefs of doctors as to a fair and proper compensation for their services. No plan can succeed for any length of time in holding good doctors if it is paying them appreciably less than they could get elsewhere under similar working conditions.

In this connection it is necessary to compare service with medical indemnity plans. The latter are widely offered by commercial insurance companies and by the highly advertised "doctor-sponsored" schemes. Under these the insured person or family is indemnified to a stated amount for each of a schedule of services for which he has been billed by his physician. The subscriber's indemnity is fixed, but his physician's charges are not. So, although he may receive only \$100 toward the surgeon's fee for removing his appendix, the surgeon is entirely

free to charge him any amount for the operation. Under many of the physician-sponsored plans the physicians agree not to charge more than the indemnity to persons and families of very low incomes. This is often no favor or concession on the part of the profession because the income for the eligible persons is frequently fixed at little above that of the medically indigent. In effect, this merely transforms people hitherto receiving either free care or none at all into paying patients. They are still not Grade-A paying patients, however, even though their payment of the premium has meant real sacrifice to them. It is customary for the physicians to charge the people with incomes above this line more than the schedule of indemnities. The schedule is in fact set with the expectation that the physicians will make such charges. In theory as well as in practice the subscriber is regarded as a co-insurer since, if he were fully indemnified, there would be the temptation on the part both of patient and of physician to be medically extravagant at the expense of the insurance company. Since, unlike the insurance company, the subscriber as co-insurer cannot spread the risk, his budget takes a lesser but still a fairly severe beating if the illness is serious or prolonged. And, again, the fees charged are loaded for the care of the remaining medically indigent, so that many people just over the income limits may be unduly taxed for the care of others.

In general, indemnity plans carry no incentive to the physician to keep people well. Sickness, not health, produces his income if he is paid on a fee-for-service basis. But it still does not stabilize his income, because sickness is not predictable among those who may choose to be his clientele. In the service plan which compensates him by means of regular

capitation payments the less the sickness among his people, the more time he has to pursue other lines of interest; reading, research, even recreation and time with his family. And his income is more secure.

With regard to the first part of point 6 it need only be said that the spreading of the annual cost over monthly or quarterly payments throughout the year helps most people on salaries or wages to meet their obligations with more ease than if they had to make only one or two payments during the year. With a pay-roll deduction technique and part of the cost of the premium borne by the employer, the employee's share becomes a burden that can be carried fairly easily and makes into self-supporting families many who would be, intermittently at least, among the medically indigent. It is obvious, too, that economies in the methods of providing service will aid to reduce the total cost of the plan and thus to make it less a financial burden for those who subscribe to it.

Such economies must not be achieved, however, at the expense of the quality of service, the fairness of remuneration to physicians, or the satisfaction of subscribers. For example, a great deal is said about free choice of physician (point 6) by both patients and physicians. Where it has real meaning, it should be respected. But it must also be recognized that comparatively few people in cities have any way of making a discriminating choice of family physician. They usually take a doctor near their home or workplace or go to one who has been recommended by a friend or relative. If that physician comes to the conclusion that the services of a specialist are required either for consultation or for treatment, he may submit more than one name to the patient or his family; but, even so, the choice is really in his hands since he makes the

nominations and the patient under ordinary circumstances is even less well equipped to choose a specialist than he is to select a family doctor. Assuming that no fee will be split between the general practitioner and the specialist called in, the patient does well to let his doctor pick out the specialists who should be consulted. When the fees are being split, the referring physician has considerably more incentive to maneuver the patient into the hands of a man whom he, not the patient, chooses.

With the group-practice of medicine the patient is free, first, to choose the medical group that he prefers, and, if that group is well set up, it will have several doctors who serve as personal physicians. That gives the patient opportunity to have further choice and also an opportunity to change if he is dissatisfied. Some people want an older man as their family doctor, others want a younger man more recently out of medical school. Some prefer a woman physician, some a physician of their own sectarian affiliation. With a little planning and good management a medical group can meet these preferences, thus helping to establish the relation of confidence between physician and patient that is necessary for the best results.

We come last to point 7. The first part, namely, that all professional matters must be managed by competent medical authority in any plan which pretends to emphasize a high quality of care, seems so self-evident that further discussion is unnecessary. But the second part, i.e., that direct consumers and the general public should have a major voice in governing economic aspects, is perhaps not so widely accepted. We referred earlier to the medical economics committees of county medical societies. These groups do focus opinion among physicians, but

they are usually not prepared to examine critically bodies of subject matter outside their own field or to make pronouncements that greatly illuminate economic questions. Until about two years ago, when the matter was called to its attention by the Raymond Rich Associates, the American Medical Association had no professionally trained economist on its staff to make authentic studies of the economics of medicine in the United States⁴ and to guide the local medical societies in their work in this field. Any operating organization attempting to realign economic relationships in medical care requires direction by a group of mature persons who bring a wide range in points of view to the consideration of plans propounded, particularly on matters pertaining to consumer ability to pay and to questions of the public interest. It is a situation in which conflicts must be resolved on a genuinely sound and equitable basis, and the best interests of the medical profession as well as of the public must be protected and cultivated.

This brings us to the question sometimes asked as to the prospects in the future for a doctor to get rich out of private practice. It is likely that such opportunity will continue to exist, but it will depend upon the continuance of rich people in the community able and willing to pay the fees out of which the doctor's wealth would come. With the advent of prepayment plans for the middle class he will be able to become rich only at the expense of the rich. On the other hand, the doctors who serve the poor and the middle classes stand a good chance, not of becoming rich, but on the average of being somewhat better off than they have been. This follows from the facts

⁴ A voluntary service, the Committee on Medical Economics, operates under the leadership of Michael M. Davis, 1790 Broadway, New York City.

pointed out earlier, namely, that more people will be paying for their medical care and paying in such a way as to stabilize and to make more secure the doctor's income. And, if good medical care becomes more widely available through prepayment and other devices and if the relations between the medical profession and the public improve, there will be few to begrudge physicians that justly acquired increase in their share of the community income.

It may be enlightening to review a few broad facts as to the extent of prepayment plans in the United States and to append a brief description of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York.

INSURANCE PLANS FOR MEDICAL CARE

Aside from the estimated 60 million now insured for hospital charges but not for physician's services, about 26 million of the 140 million people in the United States had at the end of 1947 at least some insurance against the cost of illness, 17 million for surgery and 9 million for medical and surgical care. Approximately 22 million had indemnity policies, 15 million of them in commercial companies and 7 million in the plans sponsored by organized medicine. Only about 4 million persons had coverage under other auspices. It is now thought that the 26 million has advanced to 35 million. Four types of organizations serve as the insurance carriers or providers of the service: (1) commercial insurance companies, usually covering by indemnity only catastrophic illness, with the company concerned merely to know that the service was performed by a legally licensed physician; (2) the doctors' plans, which provide some reimbursement toward the fees charged by physicians and which are also largely limited to catastrophic illness; (3) the

medical services provided in connection with industry, such as those affiliated with or operated by the Endicott-Johnson Company, the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, the Northern Pacific Railroad, and the Consolidated Edison Company of New York, and by certain trade-unions such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and, in prospect, by the United Mine Workers of America, the United Automobile Workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; (4) prepayment *service* plans available to the general public. Some of these latter are operated directly by medical groups such as the Ross-Loos Clinic in Los Angeles and Trinity Hospital in Little Rock, Arkansas; others by non-profit organizations such as the group health co-operatives and the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York.⁵ All these four kinds of attempts have made valuable contributions to our knowledge of medical economics, and all have thrown at least some protection around the family budget; but relatively few meet the criteria listed above for a first-class plan. We do not need to elaborate further on the limitations of the indemnity plans, whether operated by commercial companies or by organized medicine. While a few of the medical services operated by industries or trade-unions have been able to extend services to families, most have confined themselves to the employee only and so cannot get into "family health maintenance" as that ideal has come to be termed. Moreover, by their very nature, these plans are open

⁵ The Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, periodically issues a pamphlet, *Prepayment Medical Care Organizations*, which lists and describes all the plans except those which are purely of an indemnity character. The Bureau of Public Health Economics, University of Michigan, issues a current digest of events and opinions in this field.

only to persons associated with a particular industrial concern or union.

Only the prepaid comprehensive service plans carry the possibility of anchoring medical expense firmly into the family budget. Of these there are not yet a great number in the United States, but interest in them is mounting; and, as understanding grows among medical men and laymen, there is good prospect that this type of insurance will be preferred and will spread rapidly. Since the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York is a recent recruit to this category and has the largest enrolment of any plan of this type, a brief description of it follows.

THE HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN OF GREATER NEW YORK

The writers of this report have been intimately associated with this organization for some time and therefore hasten to plead guilty of bias in its favor. But they also wish to make clear that such virtues as it has derive from the fact that its founders took several years to formulate it and in the course of that process made full use of all the ideas and experiences of its forerunners and naturally tried to combine the best features of them all. The plan was not really a novel invention, because there has been a great deal of precedent in this country for a comprehensive plan, for prepayment, for group practice, for salaried physicians, for some recognition of the illusory character of free choice in a good many aspects of medical care. So that the H.I.P., as it has come to be known, is made up of elements each of which has a wealth of valid experience behind it. Only their association in a single system is unique.

We shall not describe the organization and program in detail because full descriptions have been published and

copies of those reports can be had for the asking.⁶

The monthly rates charged are as listed in the accompanying tabulation.

Type of Coverage	Group Enrolment	Individual Policy*
One person	\$2.42	\$2.50
Two persons	4.84	5.00
Three or more persons	7.25	7.50

* Available now only to persons who convert from group enrolment and payable only on a quarterly, semiannual, or annual basis.

Under the present underwriting rules the employer must pay at least half the premium, but he may choose between covering only his employees or them and their families.

With regard to enrolment all we shall do here is report the latest news. As of January 1, 1949, H.I.P. had under coverage approximately 132,000 persons and expects to see this number advance to 200,000 by July 1, 1949. Its principal clients are the city of New York, including the Board of Transportation, and the United Nations, which cover both employees and their families, several large labor unions which can cover only their members, and a number of small businesses and nonprofit organizations, some of which cover employees only and others which cover families as well. H.I.P. is only now beginning to seek large enrolment from private business.

The present enrolment is, with a few notable exceptions, a microcosm of the population of New York City—in family size, in sex and age distribution, in geographical spread. Among the deviations

⁶ *Report of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Health Insurance Plans*, August 15, 1946, and "The Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York Begins Service," *Social Service Review*, XXI (June, 1947), 157-70.

is the omission of families resident in Staten Island, where the medical profession has not yet been able to organize a group to serve the insured. It has only 2.3 per cent of the population of New York. In the age distribution there is a deficit of young persons between eighteen and twenty-four years and of persons in the more advanced years. The young people are not eligible as family members and have not been characteristically represented among those enrolled as employees. It is possible that to some extent they have not enrolled when they had the opportunity, but have preferred to take a chance that they would not be sick. Because of the contracts covering employees only, males somewhat outnumber females.

Contracts for health and medical service to these families have been made with twenty-six medical groups scattered throughout the four large boroughs of the city. These medical groups include, among others, one at New York University College of Medicine and one at the internationally famous Montefiore Hospital. Other groups, while not formally attached to hospitals, are composed of physicians on the staffs of many of New York City's best public and voluntary medical institutions. A good fraction of the 711 physicians in these groups are veterans who returned from the war with a determination not to return to old-line medical practice but to resume their efforts to fight disease on a different sector. Here, too, courage, toughness of fiber, and the capacity to heave obstacles out of the way are not without their uses. There is faith among these doctors that the principles on which H.I.P. is founded will win wide public support. The distinguished physicians who are on the Board of Directors and in the member-

ship of the corporation, Dr. Willard Rappleye, dean of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; Dr. George Baehr, recently president of the Academy of Medicine; Dr. Jean A. Curran, dean of the Long Island College of Medicine; Dr. Philip Wilson, a leading orthopedic surgeon; and others of the same stature concur in this belief. The lay members of the Board of Directors, which includes such men and women as David Heyman, who is the president of the organization, Winthrop Aldrich, Gerard Swope, William Reid, and Mary Lasker, have the same faith, as did the late Fiorello H. La Guardia. Whatever the future may hold for H.I.P. as presently incarnated, these physicians and this board with its staff assistants and its first 100,000 enrollees have demonstrated that city families can have good medical care at costs which a very large proportion of those at the lower-income levels can afford to pay.

In building its rate structure H.I.P. chose to err on the side of overestimating the demand that insured persons would make when comprehensive service was put at their disposal. It was thought that on the average each insured person would need or demand seven physician services per year. Experience to date indicates that an average between five and six will under ordinary circumstances answer the needs. These services include all types of physician services from examining a well baby to performing a brain operation. This experience will be reported in detail as soon as there has been a cycle of sufficiently large and varied experience to provide an incontrovertible base.

H.I.P.'s initial-rate structure had to make assumptions not only with regard to volume of service required but also about what compensation physicians

would receive. The capitations paid to medical groups are designed to be sufficient to provide for the necessary administrative expense and to compensate the physicians working full time on a reasonable schedule of hours at an average rate of \$10,000 per year. No physician is, of course, required by H.I.P. to devote himself exclusively to service for insured persons, and most doctors associated with H.I.P. are not on full time but also are engaged in practice among noninsured persons. Since an upper-income limit of \$5,000 has been placed on H.I.P. enrollees, it is believed that fair-minded physicians will be content to be paid at an annual rate that is twice the income received by the best paid among their H.I.P. patients. In this early period, when the enrolment of H.I.P. has been less than the amount necessary to occupy the physicians fully, their incomes from H.I.P. patients have been correspondingly less and their administrative expense more, proportionately, than it will be when the system is in full effect.

The income limit of \$5,000 for H.I.P. subscribers, on which physicians in New York insist, constitutes the vestigial remains of the old order which lays on the paying patient the cost of free medical service to the poor. New York physicians are still serving a fraction of the population for nothing. They have to go somewhere for compensation for that service. Until they are adequately compensated through prepayment plans in which part of or all the cost is paid by employers or, if need be, through public assistance or voluntary charity for their services to those now unable to pay, doctors will continue to insist that all those who have incomes above \$5,000 must be left subject to higher charges to subsidize the care of the poor. H.I.P. has now under consideration a plan for charging a higher

premium to persons and families with higher incomes.

Nothing has been said up to this point about the possibility of health insurance under the federal government as a part of the social security program. Nor do we purpose to enter into a discussion of the pros and cons of the several proposals for federal legislation that have been made in recent years. We can only express the belief that whatever the outcome of the discussions about legislative proposals, experience with voluntary plans, both service and indemnity, will aid in making these discussions rational and productive of sound conclusions. Such experience with the actual reconciliation of the three sets of complex and many-sided factors that we listed at the outset—the wide variation in family incomes, the unpredictable character of illness with the possibilities of prevention and control, and the heterogeneous aspirations and convictions of the medical profession—will add facts to a situation in which both physicians and laymen often now feel that they are proceeding to a considerable extent on the basis of theory and temperament, two highly volatile elements in any situation which has become controversial. Indeed, it is these two that usually create the controversial situation. Facts and solid experience usually settle it. But whether applied to voluntary or to governmental plans, the criteria of a good system of medical care remain the same. We believe that the whole people of the United States will come more quickly into good care if they and the medical profession will now embrace every opportunity to enter into amicable arrangements that adhere closely to those criteria.

HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN OF
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THE CLIENT'S RIGHTS AND THE USE OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE¹

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

THE social service exchange since its inception in the charity organization movement of the 1870's has had as its purpose service to social agencies in order that they might focus social work resources to meet the needs of people and to avoid confusion and waste of duplication.

It is possible for a social institution to become arrested at a certain stage of development, so that in the changing scene its practices are vestigial, or at least not closely oriented to current practice, in terms of its changing philosophy and working principles. Today there is widespread concern about the client's rights in relation to the social agency's use of the social service exchange. Social workers have been re-examining this aspect of their practice with the result that marked differences of opinion have been expressed, and it is clear that the convictions of some workers are in conflict with practice.

As we evaluate our present use of the exchange for future practice, it is essential that we look, momentarily, to its past. What of its past is still validly active in the present? What of its past is outworn even though it persists in the present? In retrospect it can be seen that the major determinants in the origin and continuance of the social service exchange have been:

Man's mistrust of man; in short, the

profession lacked confidence in its clientele and in the self-sufficiency of individual agencies. It was mistrust based on realization of human frailty of several kinds. First, that people under pressure of compelling need might consciously and deliberately exploit one or more resources in a community. Second, and at a later date, that people emotionally involved in their problems were subject to bias to an extent that they were not always the most reliable informants. The need was felt to see their problematic situation through the eyes of people other than the client. Third, that people, out of ignorance or merely lack of competence in certain areas (medical, legal, educational knowledge), were less reliable informants than doctors, lawyers, or teachers. Fourth, gradually it was learned that workers in a given agency were limited in their capacity to know the client for competent service, without help from others who had served him. Workers were subject to blind spots and to subjective involvements which made essential the observations of others whenever available.

Hence, for the protection of the supporting community and of the client himself, we sought information to verify and to supplement the client's story. To protect the community from exploitation and waste and to protect the client from pauperization, a clearing service was deemed essential.

With our changing attitudes toward clients and with certain basic changes in our concept of worker-client relationship

¹ Introduction, brief report of discussion, and summary of the Third Annual Meeting of the Social Service Exchange, Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, December 6, 1948.

and of appropriate methods of "working together to some purpose," this component of mistrust or lack of confidence in the client's competence is one which perhaps gives us pause. It causes discomfort and anxiety and a feeling of not keeping faith; in short, a conflict which we are now struggling to clarify and to resolve. For clarification we can well weigh these factors: To what extent, today, do we need to use the exchange because of the human frailty factors which have been enumerated? Does our discomfort arise from use of the exchange or from our ways of using it?

Very early the purpose of furthering competent service became the dominant concern of the social service exchange and the dominant motive of those agencies using it. This motive waxed strong in the initial stages of our effort to incorporate scientific method into social case-work process. Thorough study for adequate diagnosis for differential treatment in individual cases meant securing as much information as was attainable from as many sources as possible. Likewise, amassed data were considered essential for the development of professional knowledge and wisdom as well as for the profession's over-all orientation to prevalent problems, community needs, and interagency relations. Amassed experience available through the exchange was envisaged as a means to social research. All this culminated in routine clearing and complete coverage in exchange of information between agencies. For clarification of the question of the client's rights and of the use of the social service exchange, we, today, can well consider whether it is still essential for effective service to the individual client and as an instrument for community guidance in intelligent social action. Reports from various parts of the country indicate

sporadic disuse of the exchange and enough spasmodic use to raise the question as to whether it is becoming a less essential measure for these purposes.

In the last twenty years many changes have occurred in social work philosophy and practice to create the conflicts and to raise the questions that have occasioned today's widespread discussion. Within social case work a few developments particularly significant for our present confusion in the use of the exchange are:

1. We have built up or taken over from related professions a body of knowledge that enables us to infer and to generalize, and hence we are perhaps less dependent than formerly on thorough study of each case. Certain formulations about unmarried mothers; about delinquency; about mother-child relationships; about specific behavior problems, as stealing, enuresis, stammering, etc.; about certain medical conditions, physical and mental, as gastric ulcer, asthma, depressions, etc., make more meaningful the client's present attitudes and responses. Perhaps we feel less need of the stream picture of the past than formerly, and hence we explore sources of information on the client's past less exhaustively.

2. In some settings we place emphasis on the greater diagnostic validity of the client's own story and on the therapy of unburdening. Hence we try to create a situation in which the client can tell what we need to know in order to help him even though more time is required than it would take to secure information from others, including social agencies and clinics where he has been known. In this connection we often find useless what we know, apart from the client. He is not ready to work on what he has not shared with us. We can travel with him only at the tempo of his confiding.

3. In helping the client, our agency

function in many instances limits our activity. We therefore focus on the problem that brings him to the agency, and we do not seek for a more comprehensive understanding of the total person and his life-situation than is essential to help him.

4. And, last but most important, social case work has become a more democratic process. It is client-centered rather than agency-centered. Our concept of a constructive working relationship is that of "working together to some purpose" rather than doing to and for the client. In this connection we place great emphasis on the client's right to self-determination within social limits. It is in this connection that the modern case worker experiences conflict over being in possession of information without the client's knowledge. This democratic process has influenced deeply our study process as well as our treatment activity. It has led to the formulation of definite working principles in our use of collaterals *other than* other social agencies.

Here we come to a decisive point on which perhaps we should focus for clarification of the issues which confound us—the fact that in our profession we have two sets of collaterals: (1) those outside our professional family, i.e., relatives, employers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, clergy, and documentary sources other than social agency records, and (2) those within our professional family, i.e., records of social agencies participating in the social service exchange and social workers employed by these agencies.

The working principles essential for ethical practice in accordance with current case-work ideology are as follows:

1. We do not investigate collaterals routinely but differentially in accordance with our need in order to serve the client wisely.

2. We go beyond the client to others, if possible, only with his permission and *almost never* without his knowledge in those situations where permission is not given. The exceptions here are in rare instances of mental incompetence and occasionally in work with children.

3. In our use of collaterals we consider it highly important that the client understand the purpose of the contact and that he participate wherever possible in arranging contacts or in securing information from documentary sources.

4. In all our work with collaterals we are careful to safeguard our confidential relationship with the client. This implies (a) that we do not give information beyond the client's permission or knowledge; (b) that we do not give information beyond what the collateral must know in order to be an intelligent informant or a helpful participant in treatment; and (c) that we do not seek information beyond what we need to know in order to help.

Because we are increasingly incorporating these working principles into our practice and because we have strong conviction about them, we are troubled because we are not adhering to them in our use of collaterals made known to us through the social service exchange and in our use also of the exchange (registering and inquiring).

And so today perhaps we will clarify confusion most quickly if we consider carefully, with the client's welfare our primary concern rather than our own comfort or discomfort in working in certain ways.

What ones of these working principles can be literally translated to our use of intraprofessional collaterals—the social service exchange and its participating agencies? Is some differentiation from

our use of outside collaterals valid for the client's welfare?

At the Third Annual Meeting of the Social Service Exchange of the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, well attended by representatives both of participating and of nonparticipating agencies, the question of the client's rights and the use of the social service exchange was discussed, with focus on the foregoing considerations as presented by the leader.

There was ample testimony both from prepared discussants and from those participating informally that the major determinants in the origin and long life of the exchange still obtain and make essential its continued use. Extended knowledge and deepened understanding of human behavior make us more keenly cognizant today than yesterday of the human frailty factors, both in ourselves and in our clients. Hence, to protect the community from wasteful expenditures and to safeguard the client from his own and our ineptitudes, the social service exchange is an essential service.

It was clear that many agencies in Chicago were using it for the traditional purpose of making possible more thorough study, more adequate diagnosis and more competent help. Greatly emphasized was the time factor in high-pressure clinics and agencies. The opinion was expressed that in many instances it makes possible more quick determination of the nature of the problem, in terms of extent and duration, of eligibility, of capacity to use help, of treatment resources, of related problems; in short, it helps the inquiring agency to get better understanding of an individual and his family in his social situation over a period of time. It was granted that there are instances where registration and inquiry fail of these purposes and that overreli-

ance on information secured elsewhere can be misleading and contribute to an agency's failing to know the client firsthand. This was recognized as a problem of agency misuse rather than one implicit in the procedure. While we may find useless what we know, apart from the client, this is not necessarily so, and often such knowledge may deepen our understanding and help us to help him talk more productively.

The extent of use of the exchange varied, from routine registration to selective registration. The greater variation, however, was on follow-up inquiry, which ranged from a few instances of complete coverage to a higher incidence and growing trend toward differential inquiry. It was clear that the developments in social work philosophy and practice previously cited have operated toward selective exchange of information, i.e., lessened dependence on exploring the past because present knowledge makes the individual's present responses more meaningful; limited services which focus on the problem and on knowing the client only in so far as is necessary for rendering a service with understanding of the meaning of the problem and the agency experience to him. The conviction was that the client is the primary informant and often the most reliable one. The contribution of the social service exchange in making the profession more aware of community needs, problems in interagency relationship, duplication in agency services, etc., was not discussed.

In considering working principles in the use of intraprofessional collaterals and their differentiation in our use of outside collaterals, it was generally agreed that the first principle is applicable. In our use of the exchange, progressive practice does not investigate a client routinely but differentially in accordance with

our need to serve him competently. With reference to the principle of safeguarding the confidential relationship, it was made clear that in the use of the exchange an agency should not seek information beyond what it needs to know in order to help and that likewise an agency need not give out information indiscriminately. The agency record remains in the hands of the agency; it should not be open for complete reading by personnel of other agencies; in fact, it is the responsibility of the agency staff to select information carefully and to give out only what an inquiring agency needs to know for understanding of the present problematic situation. Strong feelings were evidenced around the conviction that, since social work is or should be a democratic process, it is implied that registration and use of the exchange should be only with the client's knowledge and permission. This matter of the client's permission both for registration and for inquiry to another agency brought heated discussion. It was revealed that in Chicago there has not been general practice of securing the client's permission or of making known the agency's use of the exchange. A number of agencies have made this an individual matter, occasionally taking this action with a given client. There seemed to be no definite policies except in one agency as to when it was indicated to make an exception. What, other than the worker's disturbed feeling in a given instance, operated for this selective practice was not made clear in other instances. A representative of one agency reported a short-time experiment with a group of clinic patients, largely self-referred to whom knowledge of registration was imparted and permission to inquire secured. Of sixty-nine such applicants, only one individual refused permission for registra-

tion. The others, with a few exceptions, took the procedure for granted. In general, the workers' impressions were that the patients were too absorbed in applying for help, too immersed in their difficulties, to come to grips with this procedure as an issue. For the most part they consented blandly. Whether this was with full comprehension of the import of the procedure was not known. Or did they possibly submit to the procedure because their need for help did not leave them free to choose? This question remains unanswered. Because the procedure seemed to be a meaningless one, the staff of the clinic decided against its continuance. A representative of a private, sectarian family agency reported a similar response in those instances where knowledge had been given and permission secured, with the result that they had concluded that at intake an applicant is too overburdened with the business of seeking help to assume responsibilities for determining what help should be given. Within part of the discussion group the conviction that democratic process and the client's right made the procedure an essential one did not give way, but the extent to which it prevailed was not clear.

With reference to this conflict, and to clarify confusion, the author as discussion leader in the closing summary raised the following questions for further consideration.

If we are convinced that use of the social service exchange for interchange of information is essential for the client's welfare in that it enables us to serve him more competently, then is it not the social agency's responsibility to decide whether or not it must register and inquire in a given case? Is not the client's primary right the right to intelligent service? Is it not the worker's obligation to seek what help he needs in order to

function competently? If this procedure stems from our need for professional help, is it appropriate to burden the needful client with a decision pertaining to our need? Do we look to him to determine our other ways of working, such as consent to keep a record, consent to use the agency psychiatrist as a consultant, consent to conduct a staff conference on his situation, etc? Should we not as members of a responsible profession assume responsibility for our own helping methods? Is there anything undemocratic in shouldering our own load? Furthermore, with reference to the therapeutic import of the client's participation, how free is a necessitous man to come to grips with this issue so as to make more than a perfunctory decision or, if threatened, anything other than an unrealistic decision? Would there be any benefits to the client in such a decision per se?

With reference to this controversial issue, one wonders whether our questionable recording practices and our failure to safeguard the confidential relationship through adherence to the other working principles in our use of intraprofessional

collaterals may be the basis for our fear about assuming this professional responsibility of making our own decision on this procedure. It is conceivable that, having the client's permission, we might be more casual and less exacting in safeguarding his confidences in our inter-agency relationships. It would seem that this principle of seeking information within our professional family *only* with the client's knowledge and permission might be differentiated from our use of outside collaterals. Within medical practice, in some if not all hospitals, reports can be sent to doctors or hospitals without authorization even though authorization from the patient is required for the release of medical information to social agencies. One wonders whether our concern in this area expresses our mistrust in ourselves, our lack of confidence in the integrity of our profession. If so, the answer lies in correcting those practices which serve as a realistic basis for our fear rather than in building up an irrelevant rationale around client's rights and democratic process.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE PARABLE OF THE WORKERS OF THE FIELD

HELEN HARRIS PERLMAN

AT THIS time in the Land of Us the sun shone gold and the rain fell silver and the earth was green as new paper dollars. But there came a day when a few people walked out of their gardens, and abroad upon the land, and saw that in some places the earth was sterile and stony and plants struggled to grow and were choked, and in some places the sun never shone and plants hung limp and gray, and in some places the rain never fell and plants shriveled and died. The people of Us sorrowed and said, "Let the soil be made fertile, let the fallow fields be planted, let each flower, each shrub, each tree, grow to its fulness so that the Land of Us will be as a garden." And certain men and women were named to be the Workers in the Fields.

In these ancient days the Field Workers were toilers. With their naked feet they trod the hot and barren fields. With naked hands they moved the stones, they broke the earth and sowed the seed, they carried water and pulled the weeds. Some among them had that grace of person, that nurturing touch, which later came to be called "green thumb," and under their care plants flourished and bore fruit. But all among them had the love of growing things and labored with the will that the earth be fair. This love and this will bound them together and drove them to seek out and to learn the secrets of the earth and of growth, of planting, and of nurture.

Now there arose among them a Teacher, a woman who was wise in the ways of

growing things, and she said, "To love must be added art, and to art must be added means." And she gave to the Workers certain garments by which their nakedness was clothed and tools by which their bare hands were given new powers to dig and to hoe and to cultivate and to come to know more surely that with which they worked. Then wise men arose to give to the Workers a knowledge of the sickness and health of soils and plants, of the strength and the weakness and the measurement of seeds; and to all these the Workers listened. They lived together in the house of their teachers and tended the broad fields in accordance with their learning.

On one day from a land across the sea there came a Giant, and he was a Physician of the Spirit of growing things. He was called Dr. Frond, for the great fern of the dark forests which reach out their fingers to light. He knew how to plant and how to tend, but he knew more than these things. He knew the secrets of the inner life, of how the seed might be prepared, of the forces in seed and root that push to grow, of why one tree grows straight and one grows crooked. And as this Giant strode across the earth, the Workers gathered about him and became his disciples that they, too, might come to know the secrets of the inner life of growing things. They were at one in their humbleness and their zeal.

Now among the disciples of Dr. Frond was a younger Giant. He was called Dr. Rake, after a new tool which had been fashioned for gardening, to clear out de-

bris and to make ready the soil for light and air. Now Dr. Rake was beloved by Dr. Frond, as son and pupil, and the wisdom and secrets of Dr. Frond were imparted to him. And as the younger Giant grew taller and wiser, he came to understand the use and the import of some things which the elder Giant had not seen. And they taught one another. But two Giants often cannot live in one house, and so it was that on one night the younger Giant fled from his father's house and proclaimed himself his own master. And the elder Giant raged and mourned for his rebellious son.

Now among the Workers in the Fields there arose an echo of this mourning and raging, and anger grew among them, between those who best loved Dr. Frond and those who best loved Dr. Rake. Those who had been sisters denied one another, and brothers looked not into the other's eyes. For a time the delving of the earth and the sowing of the fields ceased almost, for the Workers turned to their hot fires to forge out swords and other armaments. Then the leaders among the Workers of the Fields builded a stone wall across the land, and they said: "On one side shall the disciples of Dr. Rake labor, and on the other side shall labor the disciples of Dr. Frond." And each camp builded a shrine at which they worshiped their master and offered up appropriate sacrifice. But the younger Giant and the elder Giant did not concern themselves with this.

Now these were some of the differences between the Frondians and Rakians as found in the writings of those times:

The Frondians believed that the study of the laws of life and spirit in growing things was the first task. The Rakians believed that action to create growth came first. The Frondians said the Rakians were brash, and the Rakians said the Frondians were overweening.

The Frondians believed that in order to develop a plant to its full growth its fullest nature must be understood—the nature of its seed, its roots, its cells, the nature of the soil it grew in, and so forth. The Rakians said that if the plant were watched in one day's sun and rain and with one day's cultivation it could be known and made to flourish. The Frondians said the Rakians were callow, and the Rakians said the Frondians were confused.

The Frondians believed each species of plant should have such special soil, such peculiar gardening as was its need. The Rakians believed the gardens should be set for the best growth of all plants, even though one plant might perish therein. The Frondians said the Rakians were callous, and the Rakians said the Frondians were chaotic.

The Frondians believed that if a plant or tree could not hold itself up it should be bound to a stick and supported thereby till it gained strength. The Rakians believed that so long as a plant lives it has within it the means to stand on its own stem. The Frondians said the Rakians were unrealistic, and the Rakians said the same of the Frondians. And so on, unto the tenth generalization.

From the beginning it had been the custom of the Workers of the Fields to meet together once each year to exchange the knowledge and the crafts and the skills they had learned over the years, to speak together of their love of the earth and its fruits and of their duties toward it. After the building of the stone wall, one among the meetings together was set apart for talk of war between the Frondians and the Rakians. To this meeting certain chiefs came beating war drums, and the leaders danced before the arks wherein, broidered with purple and scarlet, lay the Books of the elder and of the younger Giant. It was whispered that scarcely anyone could understand the Book of the younger Giant, so deep was it; and it was said that very few had read the Book of the elder Giant, for wisdom is not read by him who dances. But this was held to be of no account, and the war cries and the smoke of ritual fires rose

upon the air. Sometimes the leaders would speak to their cohorts thus: "Look upon this hollyhock grown in a Frondian garden," one would say. "It has been bound to a stick since it was a seedling, and it can no longer stand without a stick to hold it up." "Look upon this sapling grown in the Rakian orchard," one would cry from the other side of the stone wall. "A storm bent it crooked, and they have left it so, because they tend only straight strong trees." Sometimes from among the listeners would come a murmur that many other hollyhocks grew strong in the Frondian garden or that many young trees had been straightened in the Rakian orchard, but these murmurs were muffled with cries that these were miracles caused by unusual grace of sun and rain.

Nonetheless, when they returned from these conclaves, all the Workers bent to their labors mightily. On each side of the stone wall the fields and orchards and vineyards bore fruit. On each side small gardens appeared in the midst of deserts, and trees which had been dwarfed now flourished and spread their shade.

Now these were the ways in which the Frondians and the Rakians were alike:

They loved their work with all their hearts, and the fruit of their labor likewise.

They spared not muscle nor heart nor brain to gain greater wisdom and to learn greater skill so that they might make all growing things strong and beautiful.

They knew that the beginnings of their understanding of the structure of seeds, of the function of soils, and of the chiefest elements of nurture and growth were given them by Dr. Frond, the elder Giant, and that the beginnings of their understanding of their duties and their ways as Workers of the Fields were given them in the writings of the woman who was their first Teacher. And it is well known among men that the branches of a tree may grow to the north and to the south, to the east and to the west, but its roots are one.

And, moreover, they knew that all in their

own work, in the carrying of their tasks, had learned new ways by which to do them. They had learned to prune the tree too thickly branched, to graft the fruit of one tree to another, to cut off and cultivate offshoots, to separate the wheat from the chaff. These things the Giants had not set down. The Workers themselves had created them.

And in the learning of these new ways it came to pass that the digging and the sowing, the spreading of soil and the carrying of water, the pruning and the reaping on one side of the stone wall and on the other were more different in the names they gave to these things than in the doing thereof. Moreover, it was known that the shrubs on each side of the wall had borne flowers which were of both sides and that trees on each side had borne fruit which tasted of the fruit of the other side. It was said that this was the work of ants that carried soil through the crevices of the wall and of bees that carried pollen over the face of the earth. But a few said that in the dark of nights certain Workers spoke to one another through the chinks in the wall and that what counsel they found good they took to their work in the Fields.

So it was that on the eighth day of a certain week a young Worker of the Field climbed upon the stone wall and sat her down upon it. It was a day of storm, of loud gusts of wind, and of blinding flashes of light. The Frondians murmured that the Rakians had created this storm by bad magic, and the Rakians accused the accusers. But the stripling who sat upon the wall cried out in a voice louder than the murmurings or the thunder. She spoke thus:

Let us have an end to the division of our house. Let us cease our worship of idols. Let us bend our wills and our strengths to knowing one another again. Let us cast out that which we have found of small avail. Let us make whole that which we have found good. Let us learn together of our differences, of the varied ways

in which we labor. But let us speak together also of our oneness, of our kinship. Is not our purpose and our dream the same?

Now, among the Workers of the Field who gathered near her there was whispering. One said that it was not known whether she was a Frondian or a Rakian. One said that it could plainly be seen that she was straddling a wall. One said that

she was known to be the seventh daughter of the seventh daughter of the child who had declared that the Emperor wore no clothes. But there were a few among them, among the tall ones who could see over the wall, who spoke not but listened deeply.

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WHAT'S BEHIND HOUSING

ROSALIND TOUGH

NO SINGLE, clear-cut sociopolitical philosophy underlies urban planning and housing in the United States. Instead there are the proponents of profit-seeking laissez faire activity, on the one hand, and government control or direct government enterprise, on the other. Fundamentally, this dichotomy exists not alone in the planning and housing field; instead, it is part of the American dilemma. We have the social heritage of the laissez faire economy which stems from the American frontier. Since we visualize our "looking-glass self" in these terms, somehow, we are unwilling to recognize that the true reflection is very different.

From the late nineteenth century the federal government has played an important role in the regulation of private enterprise; with the economic depression of the early thirties, the government extended its sphere of activity and produced commodities and services to meet the emergency. Whether or not private initiative has been willing to accept the expanding role of government has depended on prevailing social and economic conditions at a particular time and on the specific enterprise involved. This is well illustrated in the new Housing Act of 1948, which was substituted by the Eightieth Congress for the much more inclusive Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill.

Since housing has been subjected to the dual philosophies underlying so much of American activity, the problem is how to delimit the fields between private enterprise and governmental activity or, in

much more idealistic terms, how to evolve a single philosophy, a middle road, constructed from cement representing a mixture of both schools of thought.

It is the purpose of this analysis to point out the extent to which present legislation for housing in the United States is a product of opposing forces; generated both by the proponents of private enterprise and by government activity; to show the influence of such opposition on proposed legislation; to compare this with British housing trends; and to indicate along what channels, if any, a sociopolitical philosophy of housing is in process of evolution.

THE HOUSING DILEMMA

To no small extent the acute housing situation in the United States may be attributed to a cumulative lag in the production of housing. During the ten-year period after 1930 only 264,000 accommodations for families were built annually; from 1942 through 1945 the annual average was lower—220,000 family units. Thus, in 1946 it was estimated that the country needed 1,000,000–1,200,000 new family units annually.¹

Although the production of accommodations for families is now far above the pre-war level (in 1947 about 879,000 homes of all types were completed, and during the first six months of 1948 about 450,000 were produced), production still

¹ Between April, 1940, and April, 1947, 4,400,000 dwelling units were produced; during the same period, however, family units increased in excess of 5,000,000 (Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports* ["Housing Series," No. 1], p. 70).

does not meet the estimated need. Just as significant, less than 15 per cent of the new units are for rent; this is very low compared to about 40 per cent in normal times.² The result is that an unusually high proportion of families must purchase homes in a period of inflated prices.

How rapidly prices have spiraled in the real estate field becomes painfully evident to the would-be purchaser of a small home. In the summer of 1948 the average house and lot cost \$11,094 in leading cities compared with \$9,749 in the previous summer and \$4,599 in 1939. Since in 1946 about one-half the nonfarm families in the United States had incomes of less than \$2,500, and an additional 11 per cent had incomes between \$2,500 and less than \$3,000, it becomes evident, even assuming slightly higher incomes for the years 1947 and 1948, that new housing and even ownership of secondhand housing is outside the reach of most families in the low- and middle-income brackets.³ Further, it has been estimated that to purchase new homes is too expensive for 90 per cent of the veterans. Because of this situation, many experts in the housing field have advocated some form of government assistance.

Actually the platforms of both political parties committed them to the need for legislation to relieve the acute housing problem in the United States. The Democrats promised comprehensive housing legislation, including provision for slum clearance and low-rent housing projects "initiated by local agencies." The proposed legislation in the form of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill,⁴ with its

provisions for slum clearance and low-rent housing, had the support of the Truman administration.

The Republican platform recommended federal aid for slum clearance and low rents "only where there is a need that cannot be met by private enterprise or by the states and localities." The interpretation of the Republican platform became apparent in the Housing Act of 1948,⁵ passed by the Republican-dominated Congress in special session; this makes no provision for federally financed public housing or slum-clearance projects. One of Governor Dewey's presidential campaign speeches, however, indicated a general recognition of the need for federal aid. He advocated that the government "stand ready to lend a hand to the states to encourage progress of community improvement and development."⁶

THE HOUSING ACT OF 1948

It is now a matter of historical record that the special session of the Eightieth Congress passed the Housing Act of 1948.⁷ That the bill was signed by the President on August 10 did not indicate his approval. He stated that it was "emasculated legislation" and that he affixed his signature merely as a matter of expediency. It was believed by the administration that some housing legislation in 1948 was essential, even though it had to be flavored with spice produced by a strong real estate lobby.

The outstanding feature of the new legislation is that it is not original; in-

² Lee Cooper, "Housing Outlook Given for Lower Income Group," *New York Times*, August 8, 1948, p. E7.

³ The Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Consumer Income* (Series P-60, No. 3), June 3, 1948, p. 13.

⁴ S. 866 (as amended) (80th Cong., 2d sess.), March 15, 1948.

⁵ Public Law 901, August 8, 1948.

⁶ *New York Times*, October 8, 1948, p. 1.

⁷ Public Law 901 (80th Cong.); Senate Document No. 202, *Housing Act of 1948* (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

stead the Housing Act of 1948 has been aptly characterized as "shreds and patches" of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill.⁸ In general, those features of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill which would have stimulated moderate-priced housing construction by private industry through making credit more easily available to those who desire to build and purchase homes have been incorporated in the new legislation. The sections of the bill which would have involved the federal government in loans and subsidies to effect public housing and slum clearance have been omitted. As a result, private enterprise is materially aided through the government's assumption of increased risk which otherwise would be borne by individual banks.

These results are achieved through increasing the insurance on buyer's loans and construction loans on small homes, making loans for modernization of homes more available, enabling rental housing projects to get increased loans, and liberalizing loans to makers of prefabricated houses, providing that the government will buy a higher proportion of mortgages resulting from G.I. home loans and Federal Housing Administration insured mortgages and guaranteeing a minimum return (2.75 per cent) on equity investments in rental property (yield insurance), investments to be made by such organizations as large insurance companies and banks. The government guaranty is also extended to loans for states or municipalities and nonprofit corporations which are building rental housing. The need for standardization of building codes is recognized, and a division in the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency is

provided to work toward this objective.

It has already been pointed out that most of the above provisions were appropriated from the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill. But in that proposed legislation they did not stand alone. They were only one of the two blades of a pair of scissors; the other blade was composed of public assistance for low rental housing and urban redevelopment.

Just what the long-term implications of this new housing legislation will be are not yet known. Increased government insurance and guaranties undoubtedly are already responsible for some increase of private activity in the field of moderate-priced housing. But, with the spiraling of prices, even housing at this level is almost impossible to produce. Building contractors are reporting that the public is being "priced out of the market" and that, although a shortage of housing exists, high costs of construction with resulting high prices have materially curtailed demand for small homes. Further, it is quite evident that without government subsidy under present price levels accommodations cannot be built for the great majority of American families with incomes of \$3,000 or less. Under present conditions these families will have to depend on secondhand housing when and if it becomes available. The limitations in this so-called "filtering-down process" cannot be emphasized too often. In order to pay rentals for the homes vacated by the families of higher incomes, two low-income families generally must live in accommodations originally meant for one family. If rentals instead are reduced so that one low-income family can live in the housing unit, invariably the landlord, in order to meet expenses, must curtail building services including maintenance. In either case the results are likely to be

⁸ *C.H.P.C. Housing News* (New York: Citizens Housing and Planning Council of New York, Inc.), VII (October, 1948), 2.

slight, leading eventually to slum conditions.

MOBILIZATION IN THE POSTWAR ERA

Plans for mobilization in the postwar era to meet housing needs have taken two phases, long term and immediate. The long-term aspect, with its attempt at co-operation between government and private enterprise, was originally embodied in the now defunct Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill. The immediate aspect resulted in a series of legislative acts, fashioned to assist private enterprise to build houses in quantity, with some special legislation for veterans.

THE TAFT-ELLENDER-WAGNER BILL

Perhaps no one piece of proposed legislation in Congress made a greater attempt to bridge the chasm between private enterprise and governmental activity than the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, a long-range comprehensive program for housing in the United States. The policy, outlined by the authors of the bill, was that private enterprise should be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as possible, that governmental assistance should be utilized to enable private enterprise to serve more of the total need, and that governmental aid to clear slums shall be given to communities only when needs cannot be met through reliance solely on private enterprise. From the above objective, it was quite clear that the authors of the bill believed that the government and private enterprise could be harnessed in the same housing team; to effect this, however, the government would pull part of the load only when the burden became

too heavy or impossible for private enterprise alone.

Opposition to the bill.—It is at just these points, where government enterprise in the housing field was involved, however, that opposition to the bill came. This opposition, evidenced during the three years that the bill in various versions was in Congress, was concentrated specifically against federal loans and grants to localities for the clearance of urban slums and blighted areas and the preparation of the land for redevelopment (Title V); resumption of urban public low-rent housing for families of low incomes (Title VI); and government loans and subsidies by the Department of Agriculture for the construction or repair of farm housing (Title VII). Concentrated attack against these titles has come from such organizations as the American Bankers Association, the National Retail Lumber Dealers, the National Association of Retail Boards, and the United States Saving and Loan League.

For example, the chairman of the executive committee of the nine-million-dollar United States Saving and Loan League characterized the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill as "a public housing measure from start to finish."⁹ In general, the organization has been interested in congressional bills on housing and home financing. Reciprocity may have been the explanation for the indictment (March 30, 1948) of the League by the federal grand jury for the District of Columbia¹⁰

⁹ Morton E. Bodfish and Abner Ferguson, "Summary and Analysis of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, S. 866," *Congressional Record*, XCIII, No. 101 (May 28, 1947), 2686.

¹⁰ The Attorney-General said that the Department of Justice did not criticize the League for its position with respect to the proposed legislation and was concerned only with the "failure" of the organization to "comply" by registering. Three officials of the League were registered with Congress as lobbying representatives, but the Justice Department held that the group itself must do so also (*New York Times*, March 31, 1948, p. 22).

for failure to file under the Lobbying Act of 1946.¹¹

That it was more than coincidence when the federal grand jury brought an indictment against the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the Washington Real Estate Board on the grounds of conspiracy to fix commission rates for real estate was pointed out by the president of that organization. He stated that the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the realtors have, for a long time, been seeking to protect property owners and home owners by opposing certain types of federal legislation designed to maintain indefinitely and permanently the control of government over the homes and property of the nation and that it was an outrage that the association could not do so without danger of reprisals.¹²

In the second session of the Eightieth Congress the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill was characterized as "New Dealish" and fallacious when considered against the backdrop of our free-enterprise economy conditions as they exist today.¹³ Just what these free-enterprise conditions are that constitute the backdrop of our economy was not stated.

Opponents of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill by no means found the entire bill displeasing. Quite to the contrary, there were certain sections of the bill (i.e., the government co-operating with private enterprise in the financing of housing) which received general support. Title I strengthened the existing tools of

the Federal Housing Administration and private banks, permitting, for example, increased mortgage insurance to manufacturers of prefabricated housing, on loans in connection with proposed sale of green-belt towns and on modernization loans for small homes; in addition, it authorized construction advances to large-scale bidders to encourage application of cost reduction techniques. Title II set up a secondary market for G.I. home loans and Federal Housing insured mortgages through a National Home Mortgage Corporation to be located in the National Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Title IV provided "yield insurance" for rental housing guaranteeing banks and insurance companies a certain minimum return ($2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent) as an inducement to invest their funds in rental housing, subject to Federal Housing Administration regulation of rents. It can be pointed out that, with such co-operation from the government, private enterprise functions with a minimum of risk and that, in the case of a business depression resulting in wide-scale inability of property owners to meet their obligations, ultimate responsibility rests with the government. It should be mentioned again that most of these provisions found their way into the Housing Act of 1948.

Even the controversial Title VI of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, providing for low-rent housing, had a section favorable to private enterprise. It stated that "there is a gap of at least 80 per cent between the lowest rents at which decent private housing is available and the highest rental limits for admission into the proposed public housing project." This so-called "no-man's land in housing" was to prevent possible competition from government in what was considered to

¹¹ Public Law 601 (79th Cong., 2d sess.). Cf. Belle Zeller, "The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act," *American Political Science Review*, XLII (April, 1948), 266.

¹² *New York Times*, August 28, 1947, p. 1, and August 29, 1947, p. 30.

¹³ Hon. Paul W. Shafer, "Housing Bill a Fraud" (80th Cong., 2d sess.), *Congressional Record*, XCTV (June 11, 1948), A3943.

be the normal real estate market for housing.

Support of the bill.—Support of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill came from diverse sources. Editorial comment in such media as the *New York Times*, the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, and the *American Bar Association Journal* recognized the need for a long-term housing program and generally favored even the public housing sections of the bill. The *New York Times* editorial, illustrative of this point of view, stated:

There seems little doubt that the lobbying, or the testimony in open hearings, of some real estate and business interests has succeeded in turning many House Members against public slum-clearance and low-rent housing. Representative Wolcott has called such housing socialistic. We find ourselves unmoved by the anxieties that this warning is intended to produce. We are convinced the surest safeguard for our traditional way of life lies in seeing to it that the American family has a decent place to live.

It is beyond our means to provide at once low-rent, subsidized housing for all who need it. But we can, at least, through the public housing provisions of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill and other features that promise substantial encouragement to private building, demonstrate our good faith.¹⁴

The *New York Herald Tribune* also commented:

The chronic housing shortage, made acute by wartime postponement of building, has been and is the No. 1 domestic problem of this country. . . . Passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill would add a major constructive item, this one, happily on the home front, to the session's record of achievement.¹⁵

¹⁴ "No Time for Housing?" *New York Times*, June 13, 1948.

¹⁵ "The Major Home Front Issue," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 13, 1948.

¹⁶ Public Housing Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency, *P.H.A. Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 13 (April, 1948). For the position of the American Institute of Architects see *Architectural Record*, CIV, No. 1 (July, 1948), 7.

Support of the bill came from organizations such as the American Legion,¹⁶ the American Veterans' Committee, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the United States Conference of Mayors, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, the American Federation of Labor, the Council of Industrial Organizations, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the American Institute of Architects.¹⁷

What was recognized by these groups was that, if the United States was going to have a long-term housing program, broad enough to meet the needs of diverse income levels, there were roles to be played by both private enterprise and government. It was believed that, for families in the middle- and upper-income brackets, housing should be produced by private initiative. Even here, however, government aid to the lender in the form of insurance of bank loans would enable the borrower to obtain funds at lower rates of interest and the banks to be protected against potential loss. For families of low income it was assumed that accommodations should be built with government loans and subsidies and made available at rentals below current market rates. Thus, government was to undertake two roles: (1) the assumption of risk that otherwise would have to be borne by private enterprise and (2) the entrepreneurial function in the production of low rental housing.

Anyone who follows housing data in

¹⁷ The American Legion changed its position on the bill. In August, 1947, the chairman of the National Housing Committee of the Legion stated that the committee members had studied the bill carefully and believed that it was not the answer to the housing problem (*New York Times*, August 27, 1947, p. 3). By May, 1948, the Legion supported the bill because it provided definite priorities to veterans as a result of Senator Ralph E. Flanders' amendment which passed the Senate on April 22, 1948 (*Congressional Record* [80th Cong., 2d sess.], June 1, 1948, p. A3612).

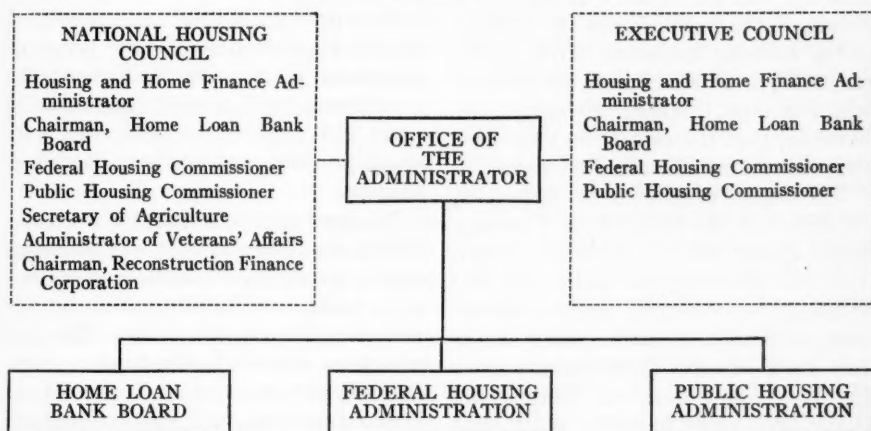
the newspapers knows that the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill was killed by the Eightieth Congress. The process, however, was somewhat gradual. Largely because of antipathy to the public housing and slum-clearance provisions, the bill was first held in the House Committee on Banking and later prevented by the Rules Committee from coming to the floor of the House. This happened despite

nate all government organizations in housing.¹⁸

This agency has the same basic divisions as its predecessor, the War Emergency National Housing Agency. Its three divisions are the Home Loan Bank Board; the Federal Housing Administration, representing co-operation between government and private initiative; and the Public Housing Administration, in-

CHART I

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY



Source: "Housing and Home Finance Agency: Its Organization and Functions" (Washington, D.C., July, 1948). (Mimeographed.)

the fact that the bill had earlier been passed by the Senate (April 22, 1948). As has already been pointed out, the substitute measure, which became the Housing Act of 1948, lacks the controversial low-rent public housing provisions.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

A recommendation for a permanent national housing organization appeared in one of the earlier versions of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill; this was effected in July, 1947, in the form of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to co-ordi-

cluding the agencies involved in public housing. The Office of the Administrator in the new agency performs largely the function of co-ordination for these three agencies all primarily engaged in housing and, in addition, for those sections of other governmental agencies which have some housing functions (Chart I).

Too, the Housing and Home Finance Agency concerns itself with such basic problems in the housing field as studies of the cost problem and financing methods related thereto; development of

¹⁸ Reorganization Plan No. 3, July 27, 1947.

commonly accepted standards in residential appraisal; improved statistical methods as to housing needs and production; and new techniques and materials that become available to industry. Answers to these problems are equally as valuable to private enterprise in the field of housing as they are to government.

POSTWAR LEGISLATION AND THE VETERAN

In the postwar era, co-operation between government and private enterprise has been attempted to promote new housing in the United States. At the head is the Housing Expediter, with powers extending over all housing agencies of whatever type; it is generally recognized, however, that the expeditors have used their powers only in a limited way.¹⁹

The original program of the Expediter, submitted to the President in February 1946, called for the so-often quoted 1,200,000 houses by the end of the year including conventional houses, permanent prefabricated houses, and temporary units. Much of the temporary housing quota came from war housing and Army and Navy barracks which were converted for civilian use. Two of the original recommendations by the Expediter, involving government regulation in the form of ceilings on used homes and on building lots were never effected. That part of the Expediter's program which involved government assistance to private enterprise to increase the housing output was embodied in legislation, much of it geared to the needs of the veteran.

¹⁹ On January 26, 1946, the President established the Office of the Housing Expediter; Congress confirmed these powers when it passed the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act, May 22, 1946 (60 U.S. Statutes at Large 207). Wilson W. Wyatt was the original appointee; the appointment of the present Expediter (August, 1948), Tighe E. Woods, was confirmed by the Senate on April 30, 1948.

The Veterans' Emergency Housing Act²⁰ recognized that housing on a large scale must be produced by private initiative; therefore, it provided certain incentives. The government was empowered to make selective premium payments to meet temporary added costs such as overtime wages and marginal plant production. Further, it enabled the government to make agreements with certain producers to buy approved industrially built houses or new types of building materials, if the producers could not sell them elsewhere; this guaranty limited producer's risks and stimulated increased production of new types of materials. Under this legislation, the government made premium payments to cover such products as brick, tile, softwood, plywood, and northern hardwood flooring.

To speed up production of new accommodations for veterans, it was necessary to give priorities or first claim on material to builders of houses selling for not more than \$10,000 or rented at \$80.00 a month or less.²¹ Manufacturers experimenting with materials such as steel, reinforced concrete, and plastics produced factory-built homes and thus, with government approval, qualified for priorities.

Government co-operation with private enterprise is illustrated also in the provisions for financing veterans' housing; the Veterans Administrator is permitted to guarantee up to 50 per cent of a housing loan, not to exceed, however, \$4,000,²² enabling the veteran to purchase a house with little or no capital of his own. This is particularly true since the Housing

²⁰ 60 U.S. Statutes at Large 207.

²¹ The government issued Civilian Production Administration Regulation 33 on January 15, 1946.

²² 59 U.S. Statutes at Large 626 (Title 3 of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 as amended).

Act of 1948, which liberalizes conditions under which money may be borrowed for housing.

More than two million veterans have acquired newly built homes since the end of the war. Many of the houses are as good as could be built in a period of rising prices and scarcity of materials. However, despite the fact that priorities were granted to builders with the agreement that the houses be sold at ceiling prices, many builders have actually sold houses above ceiling prices and built them of materials and workmanship below what was specified. Complaints from veterans alleging overcharges or failure to comply with specifications are being made to the Office of the Housing Expediter from all sections of the United States.²³

In addition, the temporary re-use war housing and converted Army and Navy barracks leave much to be desired from the point of view of standard housing accommodations. This type of housing has been located wherever land is available; situated on the outskirts of cities, these sites often lack modern subdivision regulations, adequate zoning ordinances, up-to-date building codes, and other forms of control. The mere fact that the housing is temporary has often precluded any attempt to integrate it with existing community structures. That these temporary structures may easily continue to be used for a decade or more seems to be a factor which is being totally overlooked.

With the exception of this re-use of war housing and the use of Army and

²³ Two groups of complaints—those investigated and those on hand for investigation—total approximately 48,000 units. They constitute a minority of a total of some 140,000 units represented by complaints filed in the O.H.E. to date. Complaints involving a majority of the units were screened out on several grounds—lack of jurisdiction (houses not built under priority authorization), no violation or minor violation (Office of Housing Expediter—1031, for release October 12, 1948).

Navy barracks, it should be emphasized that the Veterans Emergency Housing Program does not sponsor subsidized low-rent housing for veterans. Rather, governmental efforts are being directed toward expediting production of housing by the private building industry, accomplished largely through the establishment of priorities for production and distribution of materials and equipment.

THE CATALYTIC AGENT

In the United States an emergency, be it a depression or a war, is a catalytic agent for government activity; in turn the cessation of the emergency results in a diminution of this movement. At the moment, since we are no longer faced with the emergency of war or the earlier emergency of the depression, the catalytic agent for governmental enterprise in housing does not exist. It is true that lack of housing accommodations has created an acute situation and that Congress has recognized this by the extension of federal rent control until April 1, 1949, and the passage of the Housing Act of 1948. Nevertheless, the trend is definitely away from governmental enterprise in housing as was evidenced in the rejection of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill with its public housing and urban redevelopment features.

It should be emphasized, however that the mere fact that the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill was reintroduced into Congress over a period of three years indicates that a large group of American citizens feel that there is a sphere for both governmental enterprise and private initiative in the housing field. Less than fifteen years ago such proposed legislation could not possibly have been conceived; not until the depression era did the United States get the first participation of the government in housing on a large scale.

The seesaw in the activity of the federal government is nowhere better illustrated than in the government's relationship to its planned communities. All these came into existence during the depression; today they are in process of changing from governmental ownership to some form of private investment, including holdings by individual home owners, collective ownership by tenant homestead associations, and purchase of the entire project by one owner.

SUBSISTENCE HOMESTEAD PROJECTS AND GREEN-BELT TOWNS

The present status of both subsistence homestead projects and green-belt towns is indicative of the prevailing attitude against government enterprise in the housing field. In the 1942 consolidation of housing functions, all the nonfarm housing of the Farm Security Administration was transferred to the Federal Public Housing Authority (one of the three subdivisions of the National Housing Agency). This included thirty-one developed subsistence homestead projects, three green-belt towns, and eight undeveloped projects which were immediately declared surplus and turned over to the Public Building Administration for disposal.

The thirty-one subsistence projects started by the Subsistence Homestead Division of the Department of the Interior and continued by the Resettlement Administration and later Farm Security Administration,²⁴ were built directly by the federal government as work-relief projects to provide housing and to promote the economic rehabilitation of distressed families. Some of these projects,

²⁴ 49 U.S. Statutes at Large 115; Executive Order 7027 (April 30, 1945); Executive Order 7530 (December 31, 1936); Sec. Mem. No. 732 (September 1, 1937); Executive Order 9070 (February 24, 1942).

each home with its subsistence garden plot, are located near industrial cities; other projects, for stranded families, are located in depleted mining and timber areas, where an attempt has been made to develop industrial, agricultural, and co-operative activities.²⁵ Today, homes are being sold to individual tenants and to associations of tenants for resale to individual occupants; community facilities and public ways are being disposed of to state and local governments.²⁶

The three green-belt towns, planned suburban communities, were originally built by the Resettlement Administration as work-relief projects to provide homes for middle-income families employed in Washington, D.C.; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

These three communities are representative of what can be accomplished as a result of long-term planning. Streets, utility systems, schools, stores, parks, and dwelling areas were developed as related wholes and in accordance with the needs of the particular community. Streets fit the contours of the land; houses are grouped in superblocs, four or five times as large as the usual city

²⁵ National Housing Agency, *Fourth Annual Report, January 1 to December 31, 1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 242.

²⁶ "Sales prices are being determined in conformity with commitments made by the agency of the Federal Government which originally had jurisdiction over these projects, or in the absence of such commitments, are being based on the fair market value of the property. The terms of the sale provide for repayment of the purchase price over a period not to exceed 40 years with interest at 3 per cent. Advance repayments of the principal are being encouraged. Schools, streets and other public ways will, where appropriate, be dedicated to local governments. Utility installations and community, commercial and service facilities, now owned by the Federal Government, will be disposed of in a manner to assure their continued operation" (*The Budget of the United States Government, for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1948* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947], p. 1178).

block; houses face the interior of the blocks, which are developed as playgrounds and parks. Surrounding each of the communities is a "green belt" to protect it from future encroachment, the land being used partly for farms and partly for allotment gardens.

Today the green-belt towns are still under the operation of the Federal Public Housing Authority. However, as early as 1940, the policy of complete government ownership was changed to the extent that surplus land in the three communities was made available for development by private capital. Ultimately, disposition of the government's interest in the towns is contemplated.

NORRIS, TENNESSEE

One of the best known of government-owned planned communities recently became private property; purchase of an entire housing project by one bidder occurred when Norris, Tennessee, was sold at auction. The successful purchaser and his lawyers, representing a syndicate of Philadelphia businessmen, paid \$2,107,500 for the Tennessee Valley Authority's community development.²⁷ As a result, 341 dwelling units, a residential dormitory, an administration building, a firehouse, a telephone exchange, a post office, a combined elementary and high school, a privately operated grocery store, a drug store, a creamery, a barber shop, a beauty shop, and a gasoline station all became private property.

An attempt was made on the part of the residents of Norris to purchase the town. A total of 1,250 of them organized a Citizens' Development Corporation and bid \$1,900,000 for the property, \$207,500 less than the figure which the government accepted for the project. As a result of the sale to the syndicate, the

former tenants of the government now find themselves in a new status. The sale was just the beginning of developments which eventually will determine whether they can buy their homes at prices reasonable enough to enable them to continue to live in the model town.²⁸

The attitude of Congress toward government enterprise in the housing field was expressed a year ago by the House Appropriations Committee in reporting the Appropriations Bill for 1948. It said that it could see no "justification" for maintaining Norris, Tennessee, as a T.V.A. activity and that, unless it became self-sustaining, it should be promptly disposed of.

ENGLISH POSTWAR PLANNING

Perhaps, at this point, it might be suggested that the United States take a leaf from the chapter which England is writing on planning new communities and redeveloping the old. England has a New Towns Act of 1946,²⁹ a Town and Country Planning Act of 1944,³⁰ and one of 1947,³¹ all of which are the culmination of a long series of legislative acts in this field. As of 1943 she has a minister of town and country planning, to synchronize the activities in planning and re-planning for the country as a whole.³² This series of legislative acts gives the government powers that, in the United States, would be regarded as confiscatory. As a result, when the postwar rebuilding of cities in Great Britain has taken place, in terms of provision for social well-being, they will far surpass

²⁸ The offer accepted was \$257,750 above the minimum acceptable price of \$1,849,750 set by the T.V.A. (*New York Times*, June 16, 1948, p. 1).

²⁹ 9 and 10 Geo. 6, c. 68.

³⁰ 7 and 8 Geo. 6, c. 47.

³¹ 10 and 11 Geo. 6, c. 51.

³² 6 and 7 Geo. 6, c. 29.

²⁷ Public Act 17 (73d Cong., 1st sess.).

any of the communities in the United States.

However, the British program is still new, and there is a long gap between planning and action. At present progress is largely still in the planning stage; there is "A County of London Plan," "A Plan for the New Coventry," "A Plan for the New Plymouth," "A Plan for Cheshire County England," "A Plan for Stevenage, Proposed New Town, England," to name but a few. It is true that the blitzed Coventry, London, and other cities necessitated action, and this resulted in the series of legislative acts with the concomitant new plans. Narrow, self-seeking interest groups might have forced a rebuilding that would maintain the status quo in relationship to real property lines, land crowding, and previously existing types of structures. That such has not been the case may be attributed partially at least to the Labour government and perhaps, even more important, to the fact that England has a social heritage of government land planning and control.³³

Britain has reached the conclusion that a country no longer builds houses as such, but, instead, she builds them as part of a community development; she has accepted the principle that population density should be limited both within the old cities and in the development of the new; she has found it desirable to plan for relocation of industry as well as population; and she has recognized that, to achieve such objectives, the local governmental authorities must have the power of compulsory acquisition of land, not only in the war-damaged areas and sections of blight and slum but even extending to the territory outside the city

³³ As early as 1909 the Housing Town Planning, etc., Act empowered local authorities to regulate land use to an extent far surpassing any comparable conditions in the United States (9 Edw. 7, c. 44).

limits, which involves replanning on a regional basis.

Control of the use of land in the course of development or likely to be developed by private enterprise runs through most of the planning legislation. The extended powers embrace actual development of land not built upon, redevelopment in the cities by the local governmental authorities or, the alternative of such construction, building by private enterprise, under government regulation.

Co-operation between the government and the private entrepreneur is envisioned in the fact that local governmental authorities are given the option of developing the land themselves or leasing it to a private developer, who is willing to conform with the plan. The government is no longer limited to developments that private enterprise is not willing to undertake.

Financing the purchase of land will be by the local governmental authorities; aid will be given from the central government in the form of the Exchequer paying the loan charges. When the land is developed by private enterprise, increases in land values resulting from the new improvements are to be collected in whole or in part by the government.

THE ACCEPTED ROLES OF TWO GOVERNMENTS

It is quite evident that the British legislation for town and country planning far exceeds the wildest speculation of any of the American planners, no matter what their philosophy of planning may be. However, according to English planners themselves, the American press on British planning is often misleading. They state that regulation of landownership, the machinery of compulsory public purchase and the basis for compensation for acquisition, apparently evidences of

dramatic social change, are, in fact, old customs and traditions "molded to suit modern ideas" and that actually no revolutionary measures have been adopted.³⁴

From this side of the Atlantic, however, it would seem that postwar community planning and housing legislation in Britain is more than just evolutionary; it is true that the customs and ideas may be old but, in the process of being molded to suit modern ideas, major changes have taken place. Furthermore, the molding has been done by a labor government with a definite sociopolitical philosophy. In addition, in Great Britain as in other European countries, strong central control, required to expedite national economic recovery policies, has enlarged the sphere of government, and this has become evidenced in community planning and housing as well as in other fields.

In contrast, in the United States, we have not accepted the principle that the central government is responsible for the planning of new cities or the replanning of old; we have not been willing to recognize the interrelationships of communities necessitating planning and replanning on a regional basis; we have not assumed the desirability of community ownership of land for the purpose of controlling the uses to which it may be put; we have given little credence to the necessity of aid from the central government in order to achieve the building of new cities and the rebuilding of old.

This does not mean that the cities of the United States are not spilling over their boundaries; actually, of course, they have been doing this for decades, and in the postwar era the overspill is in no way controlled. People are not moving

out of the cities to well-planned integrated communities but rather to speculative developments created by real estate developers, for the most part, harassed by rising material cost, labor costs, and land costs, the genii that haunt the developer during the upward price spiral. The result, of course, is production without a plan, with its concomitant chaos. However, despite the extreme necessity, with the exception of the state urban redevelopment legislation, no provision is being made for future long-term community planning on a large scale, either by the government alone or by the government in co-operation with private enterprise.

As early as the Town and Country Planning, etc., Act in 1909,³⁵ Great Britain has recognized the close relationship between construction of housing and town and country planning. This early legislation, which established a pattern, was permissive, enabling local government authorities to prepare schemes for the laying-out and use of land to be developed for building purposes. Actually governmental subsidies in the form of Treasury contributions to relieve housing shortages and to clear slums were begun only immediately after World War I; in varying amounts, subsidies have been included in later legislation.

In contrast to Great Britain, American housing legislation has not been related to community planning; exception can be made of the green-belt communities, some of the subsistence homestead projects, and the Tennessee Valley Authority's Norris, Tennessee.

Approximately fifteen years of housing legislation has indicated a certain clarification in the extent to which private enterprise is willing to accept government's role. Generally speaking, when the government organization insures pri-

³⁴ American Society of Planning Officials, *News Letter*, XIII (January, 1947), 1.

³⁵ 9 Edw. 7, c. 44.

vate lending institutions, or, more broadly speaking, where it serves to make the individual financial organization function more effectively at less risk, such machinery is definitely acceptable; in fact, this function is now assumed to be part of the normal operation of government. However, such is not the case when the government itself lends its credit or gives outright grants to assure the construction of low rental housing. Time and time again, proponents of public housing have emphasized that accommodations for families in low-income brackets cannot be built by private enterprise and that, if they are to be produced at all, it must be with governmental assistance. Nevertheless, this concept is far from receiving the acceptance of the majority of private interest groups. Opponents see in this activity the beginnings of nationalization of the building industry. As has been pointed out, legislation involving government enterprise in housing came in answer to the emergencies created by both the depression and the war. Present postwar attitudes are well expressed by the majority of the Eightieth Congress, e.g., minimum par-

ticipation of the federal government in the fields of housing and community planning.

How long these present attitudes will continue is impossible to predict. It is quite evident, however, that unless a right-about-face in sociopolitical philosophy should occur, government enterprise in housing and city planning, comparable to the British, cannot be expected. Rather than such revolutionary movement, it is much more likely that change will be gradual.

It is true that basic patterns of co-operation in housing between government and private enterprise have gained congressional recognition. No better evidence of this exists than the Housing and Home Finance Agency, one single, permanent federal organization to co-ordinate housing activities both private and governmental. What is not clear, however, is: How large a role can government play when functioning alone? In the answer to this question lies the future sociopolitical philosophy behind community planning and housing for the United States.

HUNTER COLLEGE
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LOUISVILLE YOUTH AND THEIR JOBS

ELIZABETH S. JOHNSON AND CAROLINE E. LEGG

FOR a highly industrialized nation the United States has displayed too little concern for the way in which its young people struggle through the transition from school to work and for helping them to make good on the job. Our national labor force includes nearly five million young workers fourteen through nineteen years of age—in other words, one worker in twelve is a teenager. To give these young workers the best possible start is elementary common sense from the point of view of industrial efficiency and community welfare as well as of their interests as individuals. Reliable information on what is happening to out-of-school youth in the labor market and at work is the first essential in improving conditions.

Minimum-age laws have been directed primarily to keeping children in school and out of employment until they are "old enough" to go to work. The age which is considered "old enough" for school-leaving and full-time employment has been pushed up during the last hundred years, first from twelve to fourteen years and then, in twenty states and in all employment covered by the child labor provisions of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, to sixteen years. In some specific hazardous occupations it is eighteen years. Other child labor laws provide a certain amount of protection to employed minors through restrictions on maximum hours of work and on night work and in some states through restrictions on combined hours of school and work. Ideally, educational requirements dovetail with child labor laws by making

school attendance compulsory for the child to the age when his full-time employment is legal.

Legal controls, however, are aimed only at maintaining certain levels of protection needed by all children. They do not—nor should they—exercise more than a negative influence on the timing and circumstances under which David and Joan embark on what is called, rather optimistically, "their occupational career."

The last two decades have seen a rather rapid development of positive influence—broadened secondary education, vocational guidance and placement services, and other measures—intended to help young people prepare for and, when the time comes, obtain suitable employment. This development has been in part at least an attempt to adjust education and employment services for youth to meet drastic changes in the economic and social climate. The young people who grew up during the depression years of the 1930's wore out their shoes looking vainly for jobs of any kind; they begged to work for nothing in order to get the "experience" without which most jobs were out of their reach. Almost overnight, as the country plunged into preparations for World War II, the situation was reversed, and youngsters deserted the schoolrooms in droves, to step into war jobs at wages that were often out of all proportion to their qualifications and obscured the painful fact that they were handicapping themselves educationally, perhaps for life. Neither during the unemployment of the depression period nor

during the acute labor shortage of the war years was the welfare, or even the lifetime usefulness, of the boys and girls the determining factor in what happened to them in the labor market.

Foremost among stabilizing influences were the schools. When unemployment was widespread, boys and girls were urged to prolong their education because of the advantages of a good educational background. When war jobs beckoned, they were encouraged to remain in school through various adaptations of hours and courses.

Education authorities also sought to provide vocational orientation courses and some vocational training and, especially in cities, vocational counseling service for students. Many cities now have public employment offices administered by the state in co-operation with the United States Employment Service where free placement services are available. Through the labor movement great advances have been made in wages and working conditions for all workers. A multiplicity of training courses, both public and private, are available for persons wishing to prepare for specific types of work.¹ The federal-state apprenticeship programs provide approved on-the-job training in certain occupations for which long-time apprenticeship is required. Universities and private psychological laboratories use vocational aptitude tests and vocational interest tests to help young people decide on the field of work best suited to them; and some large employers use similar tests for transfer and promotion purposes.

These are all valuable and important measures, but, as with a radio program,

¹ Special educational and training allowances and benefits for which only veterans are eligible are not considered here, since they are not available for all boys and girls; not, in fact, for more than a very few who are still under twenty years of age.

the final test of their success lies in how they are received—by how many people and with what reactions. It is vital to know the "Hooper rating" on school counseling, on placement services, and on all the various devices of the community to smooth the transition of young people from school to work.

The best place to get this information is from the boys and girls themselves. From children who dropped out of school it is possible to find out why the schools failed to hold them or failed to prepare them for the kind of work they wanted. From youngsters who have hunted for jobs it is possible to learn whether they sought and received the aid of the state employment office; or whether, knowing about it, they ignored it, and if so why; or whether they had never heard of it. Those who have looked in vain for jobs know the emotional impact of prolonged unemployment. And the young workers themselves can best provide valid information on the satisfaction—or lack of it—that they feel in their work.

Without this type of information, community programs to improve educational and employment opportunities for youth lose momentum and proceed blindly, at best. To secure firsthand information on these and other problems of working children, the child labor staff of the United States Department of Labor undertook, early in 1947, to interview a substantial number of young people in a series of cities selected as representing conditions in the nation as a whole. Because of a reduction in funds for child labor research, the study was made in only one city—Louisville, Kentucky. The Louisville study, however, does show how a rather large group of young people growing up since the war are reacting to school, to counseling and other related

services, and to the transition from school to work.

What is true of Louisville youth is, in all probability, true for young people in similar cities from coast to coast. In size, educational facilities, racial distribution, industrial opportunities, and community services for youth, Louisville is comparable to hundreds of communities in the United States. It was chosen for study in part because of these representative qualities and in part because of the hospitable and co-operative attitude of its school officials and civic leaders.

The study embraced many factors in the lives of out-of-school youth in Louisville—housing, health, family backgrounds, educational and vocational guidance, student-aid programs, certificate issuance, administration of laws affecting child workers, conditions of employment, and the attitudes of employers and labor unions—as they relate to youth services available in the community. The present article discusses chiefly the findings of the study in relation to actual conditions of youth employment that are especially pertinent for consideration in other communities.

BASIS OF THE LOUISVILLE STUDY

In 1947, when the study was made, the Kentucky school-attendance law allowed children to leave school for full-time employment at the age of fourteen years if they met the requirements of the child labor law, including the issuance of an employment certificate. Since then (in 1948) the general minimum age for employment during school hours in Kentucky has been raised to sixteen years.

Members of the field staff interviewed 524 boys and girls fourteen through nineteen years of age, all of whom were out of school and working or wanting to work. The young people were encour-

aged to talk freely, and enough time was allowed to cover nearly every facet of their educational, vocational, placement, and employment experience, together with family and economic background. A number of employers were visited in order to get information on their policies with regard to employing minors.

The boys and girls in the study were selected on a random basis² and lived in all parts of the city. The purpose was to study conditions of youth who were out of school and in the labor market, exclusive of veterans. The sample selected for study, developed from the city's school census records, included 113 children who were fourteen or fifteen years of age, this being approximately two-thirds of all children in this age group who fell within the study category. The 217 boys and girls of sixteen and seventeen constituted a smaller proportion of the total out-of-school youth of these ages; and the 194 young people eighteen and nineteen years of age were in the smallest proportion of all; nevertheless, all three were representative groups selected according to accepted sampling methods. The youth in the study had about the same racial distribution as the population of the city as a whole: 81 of the 524 boys and girls interviewed were Negroes.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Of every 10 young people interviewed, 7 had lived all their lives in Louisville, 2 had moved there before the war, and 1 had come more recently. They were liv-

² Information on a sample group of out-of-school youth drawn from the school census records was obtained either from the young people themselves or from persons who knew them, in order to ascertain whether they were in the labor market and should be included in the study. Young people enrolled in college were excluded from the study on the basis of information supplied by secondary-school officials who knew them or enrolment records of the University of Louisville.

ing as members of family groups, with very few exceptions. Nearly nine-tenths (461) lived with their parents; and, of the remainder, 34 lived with relatives other than their parents and 16 lived in homes they had established for themselves.

They came of families that were larger than average. The median number of persons living in the family home was 5.7 (for Negro families, 6.4) compared with the figure of 3.2 for the United States as a whole, as reported in the 1940 census.³

the chief wage-earner of the family.

Young as the group was, it included 43 (31 girls and 12 boys) who were married and living with husband or wife, and 9 others who were separated or divorced. No fewer than 38 of the group (33 girls and 5 boys) had experienced parenthood.

One of these young fathers and 18 of the mothers were unmarried. Thirteen of the girls were obliged to leave school before they were sixteen because of pregnancy.

TABLE 1
HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED, BY AGE GROUPS, LOUISVILLE, 1947

GRADE COMPLETED	AGE AT TIME OF INTERVIEW					
	14 and 15 Years		16 and 17 Years		18 and 19 Years	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
VI or lower . .	10	8.9	21	9.7	12	6.2
VII	25	22.1	32	14.7	12	6.2
VIII	58	51.3	61	28.1	27	13.9
IX	20	17.7	62	28.6	37	19.1
X			29	13.3	18	9.3
XI			6	2.8	10	5.1
XII			6	2.8	78	40.2
Total . . .	113	100.0	217	100.0	194	100.0

Nearly half of these young people had at least four siblings, and almost one-tenth had eight or more. Only 7 per cent had none. Undoubtedly, the economic strain resulting from the size of their families played a direct part in the decision of many of these boys and girls to leave school and go to work at an early age. Although the father of the family was reported to be the chief wage-earner in most cases, 30 of these boys and girls said they had assumed that role themselves. One-fourth of them said that the mother was also employed; in 58 cases she was

³ *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940: Population and Housing, Families' General Characteristics*, Table III, p. 5.

SCHOOL INFLUENCES

Educational attainment has repeatedly been shown to have a very direct bearing on vocational success. The highest school grade completed by the boys and girls in the study ranged all the way from the second to the twelfth, but as a group their educational level was low, as can be seen from Table 1.

Only 84 in the entire group (25 boys and 59 girls) had been graduated from high school. Of the young people who were eighteen or nineteen years of age—those in general old enough to be high-school graduates—40.2 per cent had

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completed the twelfth grade⁴ and 45.4 per cent had left school after completing not more than the ninth grade. Fewer than half of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-old boys and girls and only about one-sixth of those who were fourteen or fifteen years of age had gone beyond the eighth grade.

Here, then, were 440 boys and girls who had cut short their schooling at some point before graduation from high school. What were their reasons, as they saw them? In the course of conversation, which the interviewer used to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and understanding, it became clear that the decision to leave school was generally the result of a complex of pressures and dissatisfactions. The first reason given by the boy or girl was rarely the whole story.⁵

Negative reactions to school appeared to be a factor in at least two-thirds of these cases. Nearly half (48 per cent) of the 440 boys and girls gave dislike of school as their principal reason for leaving, and for another 19 per cent it was a contributory reason. Some of these boys and girls said that they were failing in their grades; others were dissatisfied with the courses or with their teachers or with some other aspect of school life; still others had difficulty in adjusting themselves to new conditions when transferred from one school to another or when entering senior high school.

⁴ This is only slightly lower than the percentage of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old young persons in the United States as a whole who are high-school graduates, which was 42.4 in 1947, according to the United States Bureau of the Census (*Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Educational Attainment of the Civilian Population, April 1947*, Table 1, p. 10).

⁵ A more detailed account of the reasons these young people gave for leaving school is given in an article, "Why Young People Leave School," *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, November, 1948.

Economic pressure was second in importance as a reason for leaving school, according to the interview reports. The reluctance of many adolescent youth to admit poverty—and their readiness to complain about school—probably tended, in spite of favorable interview conditions, to minimize the importance they assigned to economic needs. Nevertheless, about 20 per cent of the young people regarded this as their principal reason for dropping out of school, and 15 per cent gave it as a contributory reason. Included in this group were those who said that their earnings were needed for the support of the family or for their own support and those who said they were embarrassed at school by lack of funds for carfare, textbooks, lunches, and school essentials. None of these young people had found the student loan fund a satisfactory source of aid; some said the conditions under which loans were made were difficult to meet; others, that it was humiliating to apply even for free textbooks—"If you can't afford books, you have to raise your hand in class."

To many adolescent Americans, wage-earning is synonymous with growing up, winning independent status, and having their own money to spend. It therefore carries an attraction of its own, distinct from economic need, on the one hand, and from dissatisfaction with school, on the other. As a motive for leaving school, this "lure of the job" ranked third. One-eighth of the young people said that they left high school because they liked the idea of working and earning their own money; most of these had left school during the war period, when jobs were easy to find and wages high.

Other reasons given for leaving school were marriage, pregnancy, illness, embarrassing physical defects, and illness of some member of the family, usually the

mother. A few girls dropped out because their fathers did not see "why girls need schooling." Eleven girls left school to be married—3 of them at the age of thirteen and 5 at fourteen. Seventeen other girls became pregnant and had to leave school—4 of them at thirteen years of age and 8 when they were fourteen.

Several of the boys had been brought to court as truants while quite young. It was far from easy for them to return to school after an experience of this kind. One boy said that he felt too disgraced ever to go back to school. Others had been in reform school and refused to return to school after their release.

Less than half of these boys and girls said that they had consulted any teacher, visiting teacher, principal, or school counselor before they made up their minds to leave school. Even in the youngest group, the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children who were still covered by the compulsory school-attendance law, only one-third said that their intention to leave school had been discussed with these school authorities either by them or by their parents.

HUNTING FOR A JOB

The number of young folks who had obtained assistance from the school in hunting for a job was small—41 boys and girls out of 524. Most of them relied on the help of relatives or friends in finding a job, or searched the "Help Wanted" advertisements in the newspaper. Many applied directly to employers. The existence of public employment offices or placement centers was not known to some of them, and only a little more than one-fourth of the boys and girls had had any contact with the State Employment Service—for the most part during the war period when wartime manpower controls were in operation. Only about one

in ten had been placed in any job by the State Employment Office, and less than 3 per cent had been placed by it in their last job.

The youngest children were the least successful in finding—and also in holding—jobs. Almost half (46 per cent) of the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old boys and girls had no job of any kind, either full time or part time, when interviewed. Strictly speaking, most of these children should have been in school, as the Kentucky state school-attendance law in 1947 required children under sixteen to attend school full time unless they were working at a job for which they had an employment certificate. The only exceptions were for children who were physically or mentally ill or who had been graduated from high school. In practice, however, unless it came to the attention of the school authorities that children were out of school and not working, they seldom returned to school. Although we dislike thinking of children under sixteen as "unemployed," these children are so classified because they were not only out of school but were looking for jobs.

Boys and girls sixteen years of age and over had somewhat better success in finding jobs. They had the advantage of being legally out of school and legally employable in most kinds of jobs. However, more than a third of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds and a fifth of the eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds were out of work. All of them wanted jobs, and most of them said that they were looking for work in the technical sense used by the Bureau of the Census in determining presence in the labor force; that is, they took some active steps in looking for work, such as watching newspaper ads, hunting down leads furnished by friends, and applying in person at places where

they thought that they would like to work.

Altogether 171 of the boys and girls were unemployed at the time of the study, except possibly for an occasional odd job of part-time nature. Fully two-thirds of these had been looking for work for at least a month; one-fifth had been without a regular job for six months or longer. For many, their inability to find a job was becoming a serious problem. There were 31 children who had never had a job at all.

SHIFTING FROM JOB TO JOB

Changing jobs, if done purposefully, may be a wholesome and useful step. But many of the Louisville young people had shifted from job to job with little sense of direction. The 493 boys and girls who had worked fifteen hours a week or longer on at least one job had accumulated a total of 1,097 jobs. As two-fifths of them had had just one job apiece, it can be seen that some of them had changed jobs over and over again. The number of jobs per person showed a definite correlation with length of time out of school. Thus, children who had been out of school less than six months averaged 1.4 jobs each; those who had been out eighteen months but less than twenty-four, averaged 2.5 jobs; and those who had been longest out of school—three years or more—had rolled up an average of 3.9 jobs each. Nearly one in five of the oldest group and one in seven of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-old group had held from 4 to 8 jobs.

The length of time these young people remained in one job was correspondingly short. Half of the 750 jobs which had been terminated had lasted less than three months. The median duration of terminated jobs was, naturally, shortest for the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds

(1.9 months), and longest (4.6 months) for those in the eighteen- and nineteen-year-old group, some of whom had been out of school for several years.

A somewhat more favorable picture is made by the 347 jobs on which the young people were working when interviewed.

The median duration of "present" jobs was 5.8 months for all workers; 4.2 months for the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds; 4.8 months for the next older group; and 8.3 months for the eighteen- and nineteen-year-old workers. The reason why they left their last job was given by 146 boys and girls who were unemployed when interviewed. Slightly more than half of these (81) claimed they had quit of their own volition. The reason most frequently given was dissatisfaction with the work or with working conditions—the job was too heavy or too hard, the wages too low, working conditions unpleasant, or there was no prospect of advancement. Personal or other reasons such as illness at home were given by 30. Inability to get along with the boss or with fellow-workers was the reason for quitting given by 7 children.

The number who admitted being discharged for one reason or another was 23. Of these, 5 had been employed contrary to the state child labor law and had been dismissed when the state labor inspector discovered them; 8 had been "fired" for unsatisfactory conduct and 3 for unsatisfactory job performance. The others apparently had lost their jobs through no fault of their own, but because of seasonal layoffs or some change in the business or in the hiring policy of their employers.

JOB EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG WORKERS

The 493 young people who, since leaving school, had worked at one or more jobs for at least fifteen hours a week were asked about the nature of their current

job, or, if unemployed at the time of interview, about their most recent job.

Kind of work.—Nearly all the jobs held by these young workers could be grouped under four broad industrial categories: manufacturing, trade, service, and transportation and communication. The percentage of young workers in each age group employed in these industries and in all other forms of employment is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG WORKERS IN SE-
LECTED INDUSTRIES, BY AGE GROUPS
LOUISVILLE, 1947

INDUSTRY	AGE AT TIME OF INTERVIEW		
	14 and 15 Years	16 and 17 Years	18 and 19 Years
Manufacturing.....	9.8	35.0	37.2
Trade.....	52.0	29.0	27.2
Service.....	31.3	20.5	18.9
Transportation and communication.....	2.0	10.0	9.4
All other.....	4.9	5.5	7.3
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

Children under sixteen, excluded from factory work in any establishment producing goods for shipment outside the state under the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, turned for the most part to trade and service industries.

As soon as they were sixteen, and of legal age for factory employment under federal and state laws, many young people, especially boys, found jobs in manufacturing establishments. In Louisville most of the opportunities for young workers in manufacturing appeared to be in connection with food processing, metal trades, furniture manufacturing, printing and publishing, textiles, and tobacco.

Occupational grouping followed the same general pattern. Boys of fourteen

and fifteen years were most frequently working as delivery boys, service workers, and salesboys. The sixteen- and seventeen-year-old boys were found less frequently in delivery and sales work and more often in factory operations. The trend toward mechanical jobs and away from service jobs was very pronounced as the boys became older; 30 per cent of those who were eighteen or nineteen were factory operatives—the highest percentage found in any single occupational group.

Among the girls there were even more striking changes in occupation from the youngest to the oldest. Well over one-half of the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds were service workers, mostly waitresses, counter girls, or kitchen helpers in restaurants, and nearly one-fourth were salesgirls in retail stores, principally those of the five-and-ten-cent variety. Among the sixteen- and seventeen-year-old girls there was a dropping-off in service jobs and sales work and a decided rise in clerical and in factory jobs. The rise in clerical work continued with age, nearly one-half of the eighteen- and nineteen-year-old girls holding such jobs as stenographer, typist, cashier, telephone operator.

Hours of work.—The great variety in the types of jobs held by the boys and girls in Louisville made for a very wide range in weekly working hours. Of the 450 who reported on working conditions during a specified week in the current or last job, half worked not more than forty hours (the maximum weekly hours recommended for minors under eighteen); one-fifth worked less than forty hours. On the other hand, one-tenth had a forty-eight-hour work week, and 15 per cent reported even longer hours, with 10 boys and 3 girls working sixty hours or more.

Oddly enough, a work week exceeding forty hours was more frequent among

workers under eighteen than among those eighteen and nineteen years of age: 53 per cent of the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds and 55 per cent of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds worked more than forty hours, in comparison with 45 per cent of those who were eighteen or nineteen. Although employment for more than forty-eight hours a week is illegal under the Kentucky state child labor law for minors under sixteen, several fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children reported working more than forty-eight hours. And again the oldest group fared better than the middle group, with 18 per cent of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds, compared with 14 per cent of the eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds reporting a work week of more than forty-eight hours.

The hours of the young children appeared to be due to the nature of their jobs—especially jobs in grocery stores and markets, drug stores, five-and-ten-cent stores, restaurants, laundries, and hospitals, where the hours are likely to be excessive. Boys and girls of eighteen and over, on the other hand, were more often employed in business offices and manufacturing establishments where, except for a few types such as food-processing plants, distilleries, and printing and publishing establishments, the hours are seldom excessive.

The long and tiring work done by some of these boys and girls can be judged from the following examples:

A boy of fifteen worked a 48-hour week as jumper on a delivery truck; another, a restaurant helper, worked 50 hours a week on a split shift, beginning at 9:00 A.M. and ending at 8:00 P.M.; a third worked 51½ hours a week as handy boy in a laundry. A fifteen-year-old girl worked 48 hours a week as maid in a hospital and a fifteen-year-old salesgirl in a five-and-ten-cent store had a 49-hour week.

A 54-hour week was worked by a sixteen-year-old boy employed as checker in a laundry,

and a 50-hour week by a stockboy of sixteen in a grocery store. A girl of sixteen had a 50-hour week as weigher in a candy factory.

A work week of 70½ hours was reported by a seventeen-year-old busboy in a restaurant. This boy started work at 8:30 A.M., six days a week; three days a week he was through at 5:00 P.M.; the other three days he worked until midnight, with only fifteen minutes off at noon for lunch—a 15½-hour day. Sixty hours a week was reported by an eighteen-year-old gas-station attendant.

Two seventeen-year-old girls worked 54 hours a week—one as salesgirl in a market, the other as waitress in a restaurant. Another worked 58 hours a week in a distillery as labeler and packer. A nineteen-year-old girl worked 56 hours a week in a tobacco factory as a tobacco hanger, and a girl of eighteen worked in a hospital washing dishes 60 hours a week.

Some of the young workers had jobs that lasted far into the evening, even up to and after midnight. As many as 75 young people (30 boys and 45 girls) worked after 7:00 P.M.; and 29 worked after 10:00 P.M. Four boys and four girls had what could truly be called "night jobs," that is, with some hours of work after midnight. For example, one boy of fifteen had worked in his last job as a trimming machine operator in a printing establishment from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. with no allotted time out to eat or rest. Although he was not required to be there on Saturdays and Sundays, the excessive number of hours that he was obliged to be at his place of work the rest of the week, together with the fact that the job was at night, proved too much for him, and he quit after less than two months' employment. Of course, the job was illegal for a boy of his age on several counts—night work, daily hours, weekly hours, and the fact that the boy did not have a work certificate.

A seventeen-year-old boy was employed as a dryer man for a woodworking company from 11:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. six nights a week; another boy of seventeen was an attendant at a filling station during the same night hours, but seven nights a week. Although both boys claimed that they did not object to the night work, they felt the need of more education than they had, if they were to get ahead. Both had left school after completing the sixth grade.

A seventeen-year-old Negro girl with eighth-grade education had been able to find work only as a domestic servant or as a helper in a restaur-

rant. In her last job she had been night cook in a steak house and had worked seven nights a week. She began work anywhere from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M. and worked a full ten-hour shift, stopping sometime between 1:30 and 3:30 A.M. She lost her job when the restaurant closed, but it was probably just as well for her, since she was a frail girl and not suited to such work. The girl had taken typing in the sight-saving class at school, and she wanted a clerical job. However, neither through the employment service nor through newspaper ads had she been able to find anything more desirable than the jobs she had already tried.

the youngest group was 48 cents an hour; for the sixteen- and seventeen-year age, 61 cents; and for the oldest group, 71 cents.

Instances of very low pay were found. However, all but 54 boys and girls earned at least 40 cents an hour—the legal minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act since 1945—and half of those who earned less than this were children under sixteen.

TABLE 3
HOURLY EARNINGS OF YOUNG WORKERS, BY AGE GROUPS, LOUISVILLE, 1947

HOURLY EARNINGS	AGE AT TIME OF INTERVIEW					
	14 and 15 Years		16 and 17 Years		18 and 19 Years	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Less than 40 cents.	27	31.8	18	9.9	9	5.1
40-49 cents.	20	23.5	24	13.3	17	9.6
50-59 cents.	29	34.1	47	25.9	26	14.7
60-69 cents.	7	8.2	25	13.8	34	19.2
70-79 cents.			24	13.3	37	20.9
80-89 cents.	1	1.2	17	9.4	29	16.4
90-99 cents.			13	7.2	8	4.5
\$1.00 or more.	1	1.2	13	7.2	17	9.6
Total.	85	100.0	181	100.0	177	100.0

Earnings.—As many of these boys and girls went to work because of economic pressure, their earnings are of especial interest. Therefore, reports on earnings were obtained from all the young people who had worked fifteen hours or more in the week selected for study. Because of the wide range in number of hours worked, the only fair basis for comparison was hourly pay. Earnings were highest for the younger workers in manufacturing and in transportation and communications, where the median hourly wage was 77 cents, the lowest in the trade and service industries, where it was 52 cents.

Hourly earnings by age group are shown in Table 3. The median wage for

CHILD LABOR LAW VIOLATIONS

Many of the jobs which the younger workers were holding at the time of the study, or had last held, appeared to be in violation of either state or federal law. The most frequent form of violation was employment of a child under sixteen without an employment certificate as required by state law. This was especially noticeable in connection with jobs as domestic servants or in restaurants. In order to leave school, most of these children had been required to obtain an employment certificate on their first jobs. But later, if they changed jobs—as a great many of them did—they did not get new certificates, and employers seldom asked about them. Many instances

of child labor law violation, which might have come to light in the process of filling out the certificates, thus went unnoticed until the study disclosed them. Violations of child labor laws regarding minimum age of employment, hazardous occupations, night work, and maximum hours of employment were found among these young workers, with excessive working hours occurring most frequently, especially among children in trade and service industries.

Most of the illegal employment reported by these young workers could have been prevented if the requirement for a new employment certificate for each job taken by a child under sixteen had been rigorously carried out.

Violations of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act appeared to have occurred in the case of 23 children employed in establishments supposedly covered by these provisions before they reached the age of sixteen; and in the cases of 6 minors employed at the age of sixteen or seventeen years in hazardous occupations, where the legal minimum age is eighteen years.

JOB SATISFACTION

Lifelong attitudes toward work are strongly influenced by the extent to which early job experiences provide real satisfaction to the worker. The responses of the Louisville young people were rated on a "satisfaction scale" of four: keen satisfaction, moderate satisfaction, moderate dissatisfaction, or acute dissatisfaction. While this scale obviously included subjective elements, the results are interesting and probably significant.

About three-fourths of the entire group expressed some degree of satisfaction with the type of work they were then doing or had been doing before they became unemployed. Keen satisfaction was found more often among the older work-

ers than among the younger ones; 41 per cent of the eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds, compared with 23 per cent of the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds, expressed a high degree of satisfaction with their jobs. Conversely, the proportion who were moderately or extremely dissatisfied was greatest (35 per cent) among the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children. Comparatively few of those who were dissatisfied had any plans for improving their situation. Others, however, had quit their jobs because they were dissatisfied with them, either hoping that something better would turn up, or because they had something in view which they thought would be more to their taste.

In part, the low degree of occupational satisfaction experienced by the youngest workers reflects their lack of choice with regard to employment, owing to their inexperience, inadequate education, and legal restrictions; and, in part, their lack of adjustment to job responsibility. It also reflects the trial-and-error method of job-finding. The wonder is that the proportion of young people who found their jobs reasonably satisfactory was as high as it was. Relying on their own sources of information and with little or no guidance, these youngsters usually tried for some kind of work that they thought sounded attractive, took the first job offered, and then, if it proved distasteful, moved on to something else.

One aspect of their employment which was closely related to job satisfaction was advancement either in pay or in responsibility or both. Here, again, age and length of time on the job were to the advantage of the older youth. The youngest group, as might be expected, had received the fewest promotions; only 25 per cent of them reported either a raise in pay or an increase in responsibility. Among the eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds the proportion of promotions was

more than twice as high (56 per cent). Of those in all age groups who had held their current job six months or longer, 78 per cent reported some sort of advancement; of those who had been less than six months on the job, only 29 per cent had been advanced. Girls and boys fared about the same with regard to promotions, but there was a notable difference between white and Negro youth. Only 20 per cent of the Negroes had received any promotion, compared with 52 per cent of the white youth.

The help that a good counseling agency can give a young worker in finding a job for which he is qualified and where he feels real satisfaction and obtains advancement, is illustrated by the story of Morris:

Morris left school at sixteen just before finishing the seventh grade "because," he said, "I didn't like school. I was tired of studying and wanted to go to work." He registered at the employment service and was placed on a job in the oven department of a bakery. But the heat was too much for him, so he went back to the employment service immediately and asked for something more suitable. He was referred to a job as laborer in a lumber company. This proved to be the right work for Morris. He had already held the job for one year and nine months, at the time of interview, and was well satisfied, having had several wage raises during the period. Morris thought that the best way to find jobs was through the employment service, because "it saves walking all over town, and they tell you what the jobs are like before referring you to them."

THE PROBLEM OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

The Louisville study indicates that boys and girls who leave school prematurely for work have ahead of them a difficult period of adjustment at best. The majority have no definite plans, and their qualifications for employment are likely to be unimpressive to employers. If skilled counseling and guidance services had reached them while they were

still in school, many might have decided to continue their education. Others could have been kept in school until they were better prepared to compete in the labor market if financial aid had been available in acceptable form.

These problems are by no means peculiar to Louisville. Everywhere, some children drop out of school earlier than they should. In some cities the proportion who leave may be lower than in Louisville; in many it is certainly higher. And there are probably few if any communities in the United States where every boy and girl leaving school receives careful individual guidance and counseling and such help as he may need in making a satisfactory adjustment to occupational life.

No community need accept the findings of the Louisville study as applicable to its own problems without independent investigation. The best basis for improving services to youth in any community is a study of what is happening to its own boys and girls—how many are dropping out of school and why; what counseling and placement services are available; what employment opportunities are open to young workers; how many remain unemployed for long periods; and how many are dissatisfied with the jobs they find or fail to advance in them. The combined efforts of school, industry, and employment agencies in the community will be required to give the best possible education to all its young people supplemented with effective counseling and guidance services both in school and out.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Articles and publications on other aspects of the Louisville findings are in preparation. Reprints of two articles which have already appeared ("Teen-Agers at Work," *The Child*, October, 1948, and "Why Young People Leave School," *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, November, 1948) may be obtained by writing to the Child Labor Branch, Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D.C.

PUERTO RICAN DELINQUENT BOYS IN NEW YORK CITY

ERWIN SCHEPSES

I

MIGRATION of Puerto Ricans to New York City has aroused a great deal of interest during the past few years. Newspaper articles have stressed not only the increasing numbers of people coming from Puerto Rico to New York but also their poor economic condition with its effect on their health and their general adjustment. It is open to question how far the statements made in those articles should be accepted. For example, the number of Puerto Ricans living in New York City in 1947 was estimated in a very reliable newspaper to be as high as 600,000.¹ A study made by Columbia University in 1948 reports that there are between 160,000 and 200,000 Puerto Ricans living in New York City, "with the weight of evidence favoring 160,000."² At any rate, there has been a very marked increase of Puerto Ricans in New York City during the past decade, and it goes without saying that the influx of a population with a different language and a different social and cultural background creates certain problems of adjustment which should be the concern of public authorities as well as of private welfare agencies.

The following study is an attempt to evaluate one aspect of the adjustment

¹ *New York Times*, October 14, 1947.

² See p. 3 of a preliminary report submitted in a letter to the governor of Puerto Rico by the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University (June 15, 1948). For a copy of this letter, I am indebted to Mr. Clarence Senior, associate director of the Puerto Rican Study. See also *New York Times*, June 16, 1948.

problem of the Puerto Rican in New York City—juvenile delinquency. It is based on records and statistical material of the New York State Training School for Boys (Warwick), which, by court order, receives delinquent boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen from the city of New York.³ All records concerning the 109 Puerto Rican boys admitted between April 1, 1943, and March 31, 1946, have been studied—the term "Puerto Rican boy" referring to any boy who has at least one parent born in Puerto Rico.

The material from the records contains a detailed social history, describing the social and economic background of the family and educational and emotional factors contributing to the development of the boy. The records also give the results of psychological tests administered to the boys on admission to the Training School and of medical examinations. They contain interview notes of case workers, psychiatric reports, and minutes of case conferences on individual boys.

For the purpose of comparison, a control group of 98 non-Puerto Rican boys, admitted over the same three years, from April 1, 1943, to March 31, 1946, has been selected at random and examined on the basis of material in the records, which, of course, yielded the same kind

³ During part of the period covered by this study, two suburban counties, Nassau and Suffolk, were also included in the Warwick jurisdiction. From these counties, only one Puerto Rican boy was admitted to the Training School between April 1, 1943, and March 31, 1946.

of information as in the case of the Puerto Ricans. The group selected in that way happened to contain about 55 per cent Negro and 45 per cent white boys, which is in accordance with the usual population composition of the New York State Training School for Boys.

The purely quantitative aspects of juvenile delinquency among Puerto Rican boys in New York City are indicated in Table 1, which shows the num-

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF PUERTO RICANS ADMITTED TO
TRAINING SCHOOL, 1938-47

Year	Puerto Ricans Admitted	Total Admissions	Percentage of Puerto Ricans
1938.....	7	405	1.7
1939.....	14	436	3.2
1940.....	10	323	3.1
1941.....	9	360	2.5
1942.....	21	422	5.0
1943.....	31	410	7.6
1944.....	41	467	8.8
1945.....	33	418	7.9
1946.....	52	427	12.2
1947.....	40	364	11.0

ber of Puerto Ricans admitted to the Training School from 1938 to 1947. Obviously, there has been not only an absolute increase in the number of admissions of Puerto Ricans but also, and more significantly, a change of the ratio between Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican boys. While up to 1941, only two or three out of a hundred boys admitted were Puerto Ricans, in 1946 and 1947, more than one boy out of every ten belonged to that group.

Unfortunately, it is rather difficult to determine how these figures compare with the increase of the Puerto Rican population in New York City over the same period. According to the United States census, in 1940 there were 69,603 inhabitants of New York City who were

born in Puerto Rico. This does not include the entire Puerto Rican community, since, as our material will indicate, there are a good many children born to Puerto Rican parents in New York who doubtless are part of the Puerto Rican group, although they are native-born New Yorkers. However, at least from a sociological point of view, they should be classed as Puerto Ricans. The figure given by the Columbia report, that is, from 160,000 to 200,000, seems to consider all members of the Puerto Rican community in New York City, regardless of where they were born. We may therefore assume that over a period of ten years the Puerto Rican population has about tripled. The same holds approximately true for the ratio of Puerto Rican admissions to the Training School as shown by our Table 1. On the other hand, it is evident that the percentage of Puerto Rican inmates of the Training School was always much higher than the share of Puerto Ricans in the New York City population, which may have risen from about 1 per cent in 1940 to about 3 per cent in 1948.⁴

II

From statistics showing the nativity of the boys studied, it appears that 75, or 68.8 per cent, were born in Greater New York and only 34, or 31.1 per cent, in Puerto Rico. Of these 34, 13 had come to New York City before entering school. On the other hand, only 8 Puerto Rican boys had been in New York for less than three years at the time they were admitted to the Training School, and only 10 born in Puerto Rico had spent three

⁴ Clarence Senior, *Puerto Rican Emigration* (Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1947), found the same phenomenon among the Puerto Rican migrants in Hawaii, who constituted 1.7 per cent of the population, while their delinquency rate was 6.08 per cent (p. 45).

years or less in New York when for the first time they appeared before the children's court. The conclusion to be drawn from these figures is fairly obvious. Apparently, we have to deal with a larger group of boys of Puerto Rican parentage who were born in New York City or brought up here from early childhood who present the typical second-generation problem of reaction to conflict between the influences of the home and the community, while a much smaller group, coming from Puerto Rico, had spent only a comparatively short time in New York and therefore may be considered the victims of the sudden change from a relatively simple and homogeneous environment to the complexities of life in New York City.

Of the boys included in our study, 92, or 84.4 per cent, have parents both of whom were born in Puerto Rico. In eight instances the father was of non-Puerto Rican origin, but six of these fathers came from a Spanish-speaking country of the Western Hemisphere, and only two were native North Americans. Of nine non-Puerto Rican mothers, six were Negroes, born either on the North American continent or—in one case—in the Virgin Islands. It is interesting to note that, wherever the mother was Negro, the son identified with the Negro and not with the Puerto Rican group. The language preferably spoken by them was English; they were members of Negro gangs; and, generally, the impression was gained that, wherever a Negro mother was present, the family adhered to the American Negro way of life. In all other instances the presence of a non-Puerto Rican parent did not counteract the prevailing Puerto Rican influences which for the outside observer express themselves mainly in the use of the Spanish language and the more or less voluntary segrega-

tion from other ethnical or cultural groups.

No attempt has been made to determine the ratio of whites and Negroes in our sample group. It does not need to be emphasized that, with Puerto Ricans no less than with other southern peoples, the color of the skin is an elusive criterion. In 1930 Lawrence R. Chenault⁵ found that 21 per cent of the Puerto Rican migrants in New York City were colored. In a study on the reactions of Puerto Rican children in New York City to psychological tests, of a group of 240 children examined, 58 were described as "recognizably" Negro, 91 as white, and 91 as "uncertain."⁶

For the purpose of our study, the race or color question is irrelevant. It may be that the Puerto Ricans among themselves make certain differentiations, but, with regard to others and particularly to their environment in New York City, they may well be treated as a unit, with the same language, the same cultural background, and, last but not least, the same migration experience, regardless of the color of their skin.

The religious background of our group is prevailingly Roman Catholic. Eighty-seven of the Puerto Rican boys we studied, or 79.9 per cent, were reported as adhering to that faith. The remaining 22 were Protestants.

Chenault, in the study already mentioned, stated that Puerto Ricans coming to New York City had a tendency to settle in so-called "delinquency areas."⁷

⁵ *The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 60-61.

⁶ C. P. Armstrong, E. M. Achilles, and M. J. Sacks, *A Study on Reactions of Puerto Rican Children in New York City to Psychological Tests* (New York, 1935), p. 5. For a more detailed discussion of this study see below.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

He found that the great majority of these migrants had their domicile in two districts of Lower Harlem: one extending to Eighth Avenue in the west, Fifth Avenue in the east, One Hundred and Tenth Street in the south, and One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street in the north; the other one, with Fifth Avenue on the west, First Avenue and the East River on the east, Ninety-eighth Street on the south, and One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street on the north.⁸ Another not quite so large but important Puerto Rican settlement was in the Brooklyn Navy Yard district.⁹ During the past decade there have been new settlements of Puerto Ricans in New York City, especially in Upper Manhattan around Broadway and One Hundred and Forty-fifth Street and in the Lower East Bronx. But it is interesting to note that still 56, or more than 50 per cent of our group, came from the Harlem and 10 from the Brooklyn danger areas. The remainder had their residence as follows: Manhattan, 18; the Bronx, 21; elsewhere in New York City, 4.

III

So much for the general background of our Puerto Rican boys. We are now turning to more individual characteristics which permit a comparison with a control group.

The picture presented by the social histories of our boys shows that they are no exception to the well-known rule that delinquency frequently originates in broken homes. No less than 65, or 59.7

⁸ These are the districts designated as social base Areas 6 and 8A in Irving W. Halpern, John N. Stanislaus, and Bernard Botein, *A Statistical Study of the Distribution of Adult and Juvenile Delinquents in the Boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn* (New York: New York City Housing Authority, 1934), usually quoted as *The Slum and Crime*; see maps following p. 160.

⁹ Chenault, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

per cent, of our Puerto Rican boys came from homes where one parent was absent. In 47 instances, or 43.2 per cent, the disruption was caused by separation of the parents; in 18 cases, or 16.5 per cent, one parent had died or had been committed to a correctional or mental hygiene institution.

The figures for the control group differ only slightly. Here, we have 60 broken homes (60.2 per cent), with 36 separations (36.7 per cent), and 24 deaths or institutionalizations (24.5 per cent).

The somewhat higher percentage of separation in the Puerto Rican group is explained by the fact that the migration process in itself frequently involved a separation when one parent decided to leave Puerto Rico, and the other one¹⁰ stayed behind, or when both parents had come together to New York City and one of them felt that he or she could not adjust in the new environment and therefore returned to the island.

In their economic background the Puerto Rican boys present a somewhat more unfavorable picture than those in the control group. For the purposes of this paper we have divided the families of the boys we studied into four categories: (1) recipients of public assistance; (2) families with a marginal income, i.e., those whose earnings up to \$35 a week sufficed to provide them with the most urgent necessities of life; (3) families with fair earnings which made it possible for them to make some savings; (4) families with a comfortable income who could afford to spend money on luxuries. It is, of course, recognized that classifications of this type do not lend themselves to obtaining absolute values, and

¹⁰ The husband most frequently was the one who stayed behind, since experience has shown that it is easier for women than men coming from Puerto Rico to find work in New York City (Chenault, *op. cit.*, p. 142).

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there may be difference of opinion about, for example, where to draw the line between a marginal and a fair income. On the whole, however, we believe that our figures will give a fairly adequate picture of the economic situation of the families from which our boys come. The figures obtained from our record material refer to the time of admission. They are given in Tables 2 and 3.

TABLE 2
ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF 109
PUERTO RICAN BOYS

Economic Background	No.	Per Cent
Relief recipients.....	31	28.4
Marginal.....	42	38.5
Fair.....	32	29.4
Comfortable.....	2	1.8
Total.....	107*	98.1*

* Two families, confessedly, lived on the proceedings of illegal activities (prostitution, procuring).

TABLE 3
ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF 98
CONTROL-GROUP BOYS

Economic Background	No.	Per Cent
Relief recipients.....	24	24.5
Marginal.....	35	35.7
Fair.....	33	33.7
Comfortable.....	3	3.1
Total.....	95*	97.0*

* In three instances data given about the economic situation were not sufficient to enable us to classify a family.

Apparently, the control-group families were slightly better off than the Puerto Ricans. There were fewer relief recipients among them, and a higher percentage of the control-group families had an income which enabled them to make some savings. In examining these figures, it should be kept in mind that for the greater part the boys we studied were admitted under war conditions when unemployment was low and wages were high. It would seem

that our families did not benefit too much from the war boom, and the Puerto Ricans even less than the others. On the other hand, it is not, or should not be, surprising that the majority of our young delinquents recruit themselves from the economically underprivileged classes, among Puerto Ricans as well as among other national groups.

It is well known that unfavorable economic conditions frequently result in the neglect of children by their parents. The number of cases in which neglect petitions were brought against parents or guardians of our boys, or where the court made a finding of neglect, though the case started with a delinquency petition, therefore, is at least one more piece of circumstantial evidence of a precarious economic condition. It is certainly interesting to note that there were neglect petitions or findings of neglect in twenty Puerto Rican cases (18.4 per cent) and in only seven instances of the control group (7.1 per cent).

The physical condition of the boys admitted to the Training School, as it presented itself at the time of their admission, to a large extent reflected the economic qualities of their home environment. Data of the medical history of the family also were quite revealing, although it should be kept in mind that this history frequently was not verifiable and that, on the other hand, parents and other relatives interviewed by a social worker doubtless often withheld pertinent information. The data in Tables 4 and 5, therefore, are to be divided into two categories: (1) those concerning the boys themselves as found through their medical examination at the Training School and (2) history data referring either to the boy or to his family, which may or may not have been verified. The data given in the tables refer to the boy him-

self unless a "history" of an illness or condition is mentioned, which may mean either the boy or any member of his immediate family.

It is obvious that, absolutely speaking and in comparison with the control group, the physical condition of our Puerto Rican boys leaves much to be

TABLE 4
PHYSICAL CONDITION OF 109
PUERTO RICAN BOYS

	No.	Per Cent
Underweight or malnutrition.....	15	13.8
History of tuberculosis.....	15	13.8
History of mental illness.....	10	9.2
History of alcoholism.....	4	3.7
Gonorrhea.....	7	6.4
Syphilis.....	3	2.8
Epilepsy.....	4	3.7
Rickets.....	2	1.8

TABLE 5
PHYSICAL CONDITION OF 98
CONTROL-GROUP BOYS

	No.	Per Cent
Underweight or malnutrition.....	2	2.0
History of tuberculosis.....	4	4.1
History of alcoholism.....	10	10.2
Gonorrhea.....	5	5.1
Syphilis.....	2	2.0
Epilepsy.....	1	1.0

desired. The high number of cases of malnutrition or underweight among them is particularly striking, though it seems as if the phenomenon of Puerto Rican children frequently being undernourished is nothing new. Chenault mentions an unpublished study made by an unidentified hospital in New York City in 1929, according to which the large majority of Puerto Rican children examined were suffering from malnutrition.¹¹ With our control group, undernourishment was a rare exception,

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

amounting to only 2 per cent of the cases studied.

The Puerto Rican boys likewise compare unfavorably with the control group as far as the frequency of tuberculosis is concerned. A history of tuberculosis was found with the Puerto Rican group about three times as often as with the non-Puerto Rican boys. According to Chenault, "tuberculosis is the outstanding health problem of the Puerto Rican in New York as well as on the island," and the crowded conditions under which Puerto Ricans live in New York City obviously are an important factor in spreading the disease.¹²

As to venereal diseases, which, reportedly, are quite frequent with Puerto Ricans,¹³ the difference between the Puerto Rican and the control group has been rather slight. Among the Puerto Ricans, we found a total of ten cases of venereal diseases (seven gonorrhea, three syphilis), or 9.2 per cent. The control group had seven boys afflicted with a venereal disease (five gonorrhea, two syphilis), amounting to 7.1 per cent of the cases studied. It goes without saying that these figures, referring to a group of boys of twelve to sixteen years of age, are large enough to cause alarm.

The picture of the mental health of the families from which our Puerto Rican boys originate is not too rosy either. In ten cases there was a history of mental illness, while the control group happens to be without any instance of that kind. On the other hand, alcoholism was much more conspicuous among the control group than with our Puerto Rican fam-

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 114 and 120. In the sampling studied by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University, there were only 4 per cent suffering from major respiratory illnesses, such as pleurisy, pneumonia, and tuberculosis (p. 10 of the letter quoted in n. 1.).

¹³ Chenault, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

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ilies. Within the control group, we notice ten histories of alcoholism, while the corresponding figures for the Puerto Ricans are four. Apparently Puerto Ricans, as a rule, adhere to the more moderate drinking habits of most southern people.

IV

In 1935 a special committee on immigration and naturalization of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York submitted *A Study on Reactions of Puerto Rican Children in New York City to Psychological Tests*, made by Armstrong, Achilles, and Sacks. This study pictures the Puerto Rican children in a very unfavorable light. It arrives at the conclusion that they have "a marked and serious inferiority in native ability to public school children here," and it states that "few bright or even average Puerto Ricans were found" (p. 7). The mean I.Q. of the 240 Puerto Rican children examined was reported to be 86.8, while an equal number of a control group of non-Puerto Ricans had an average I.Q. of 103.29 according to the findings of the examiners.

This study was severely criticized by Pedro A. Cebollero, who reproached its authors with having used faulty methods and therefore having arrived at erroneous conclusions.¹⁴ Cebollero's main criticism is that the Puerto Rican children examined did not constitute a fair sampling,¹⁵ since more than 50 per cent came from families receiving public assistance,¹⁶ while the majority of the children selected for the control group seemed to have a more favorable economic background.

In the light of this controversy, it will

¹⁴ *Reaction of Puerto Rican Children in New York City to Psychological Tests* (San Juan, 1936).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁶ Armstrong, Achilles, and Sacks, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

be particularly interesting to compare the results of psychological tests given to our two groups on admission to the Training School. For a better understanding of Tables 6 and 7, it should be pointed out that the majority of the boys were given the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Test with its verbal and performance parts. The figures given in the columns inscribed "Full I.Q.," "Verbal I.Q.," and "Performance I.Q.," therefore, mostly refer to the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Test scale. In about 20 per cent of the cases the test given was the Stanford-Binet Test (mostly Scale L; in a very few instances, Scale M). The results of the Stanford-Binet Test have been used as the equivalent of the full-scale I.Q. obtained on the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Test (which it is supposed to be) as well as of the verbal component arrived at by the latter test (which, according to its structure, it appears to be). Where a boy was given a Stanford-Binet Test, the examination frequently though not always was supplemented by a Cornell-Coxe Performance Test, which provided us with the equivalent of the Wechsler-Bellevue performance component. In a number of cases the performance component had to be registered as unknown.

As far as the sampling is concerned, we are certain that no objection as to unfairness will be raised. We have two groups of maladjusted boys, both coming from approximately the same varieties of environment. The difference lies in the cultural background, and the question to be answered is whether this background is reflected in higher or lower intelligence.

When we compare our full I.Q.'s, we find that almost half the Puerto Rican boys, namely, 50, or 45.9 per cent, are in the dull normal group (I.Q. = 81-90).

A sizable part, 22, or 20.2 per cent, registers as being of border-line intelligence (I.Q. = 71-80). Still, 32 boys, or 29.3 per cent, are ranging from low average (I.Q. = 91-100, 18 cases) to high average (I.Q. = 101-110, 8 cases) to bright nor-

latter, one has to consider that many of them when tested had a rather inadequate knowledge of the English language, a fact which certainly made it difficult for them to cope with a verbal test. A "language handicap" was noted by the

TABLE 6
PSYCHOLOGICAL TEST SCORES OF 109 PUERTO RICAN BOYS

TEST SCORES	FULL I.Q.		VERBAL I.Q.		PERFORMANCE I.Q.	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Below 70.....	5	4.6	15	13.8	3	2.8
71- 80.....	22	20.2	25	22.9	5	4.6
81- 90.....	50	45.9	42	38.5	25	22.9
91-100.....	18	16.5	17	15.6	30	27.5
101- 110.....	8	7.3	7	6.4	24	22.0
Above 110.....	6	5.5	3	2.8	15	13.8
Unknown.....					7	6.4
Total.....	109	100.0	109	100.0	109	100.0

TABLE 7
PSYCHOLOGICAL TEST SCORES OF 98 CONTROL-GROUP BOYS

TEST SCORE	FULL I.Q.		VERBAL I.Q.		PERFORMANCE I.Q.	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Below 70.....	4	4.1	7	7.1	6	6.1
71- 80.....	21	21.4	25	25.5	9	9.2
81- 90.....	27	27.6	22	22.5	16	16.3
91-100.....	24	24.5	26	26.5	24	24.5
101- 110.....	20	20.4	17	17.4	28	28.6
Above 110.....	2	2.0	1	1.0	6	6.1
Unknown.....					9	9.2
Total.....	98	100.0	98	100.0	98	100.0

mal and higher (I.Q. above 110, 6 instances). In the control group, I.Q.'s seem to be more evenly distributed. We find 21.4 per cent in the border-line group, 27.6 per cent tested as dull normal, 24.5 per cent as low average, and 20.4 per cent as high average. This seems to indicate that the control group as a whole is brighter than our young Puerto Ricans. However, to do justice to the

examiner in 23 (21.1 per cent) of the Puerto Rican cases, but it is quite possible that this handicap existed in more cases and that the testing psychologist simply omitted to mention it. We know that Spanish is the language spoken in almost all Puerto Rican homes and that this fact as a rule impairs the ability of Puerto Rican children to speak, understand, read, and write English. It is, on

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the other hand, striking how much better our Puerto Rican boys fared in performance tests. Here, we have no less than 69 (63.3 per cent) in the average group or higher, and 15 (13.8 per cent) of them tested as being at least bright normal (I.Q.'s of above 110). The corresponding figures for the control group are 58 (59.2 per cent) for boys of average or higher intelligence, and only 6 (6.1 per cent) above 110. All in all, it seems safe to assume that the Puerto Rican boys studied by us are no less intelligent than maladjusted children of other racial strains, and, on the average, possibly somewhat brighter. Verbal tests given in Spanish in all probability would provide us with much more accurate information about the intellectual capacities of Puerto Rican children.

V

Chenault, in his study of the Puerto Rican migrant in New York City, has paid some attention to the type of delinquency into which Puerto Rican children used to become involved. Discussing tables given by Robison,¹⁷ he sees a lesser tendency to robbery and related offenses, stealing and assault, among Puerto Rican children than among all other ethnical groups, taken together, of the Manhattan and the entire New York City population, while ungovernable behavior, desertion of homes, and petty offenses appeared to be more numerous. Consequently, Chenault arrives at the conclusion that Puerto Rican children presented no special problem of serious delinquency.¹⁸

Delinquency activities of a serious na-

¹⁷ Sophia Robison, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* (New York: Welfare Council of New York City [Columbia University Press], 1936), Tables 59-61, pp. 236-49.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

ture of our Puerto Rican group appear in Table 8. Burglary, car-stealings, gang activities, sex offenses, and arson accounted for 52 cases, or 47.7 per cent, of the charges of delinquency. On the other hand, there were 27 cases, or 24.8 per

TABLE 8
DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES OF
PUERTO RICAN BOYS

Delinquency Charge	No.	Per Cent
Burglary.....	25	22.9
Car-stealings.....	5	4.6
Gang activities (felonious assault, homicide).....	7	6.5
Rape and other sexual misbehavior.....	14	12.8
Arson.....	1	0.9
Total.....	52	47.7

cent, of the total where charges were limited to maladjustment at home and/or in school, ungovernability, desertion of home, truancy, and other comparatively mild deviations from the norm.

The manner in which our control group compares with this is shown in Table 9. In this group, too, we have a

TABLE 9
DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES OF
CONTROL-GROUP BOYS

Delinquency Charge	No.	Per Cent
Burglary.....	32	32.7
Car-stealings.....	6	6.1
Gang activities (felonious assault, homicide).....	21	21.4
Rape and other sexual misbehavior.....	15	15.3
Arson.....	1	1.0
Total.....	75	76.5

number of cases where boys were taken to court because of nothing more serious than maladjustment at home and/or in school. These cases numbered 13, or 13.3 per cent, which is only a little more than half the corresponding figure in the

Puerto Rican group. All in all, it is unmistakable that serious delinquent activities are much more frequent with the control group than with our Puerto Rican boys. It is particularly striking that the number of control-group boys who had engaged in gang activities was three times higher than the corresponding number of Puerto Ricans. This is largely explained by the fact that the control group contains a great number of Negro boys who had been committed to the Training School because of their participation in gang warfare. Street gangs do not seem to play such an important part in the life of the young Puerto Rican as is the case with the young Negro in Harlem and in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. In recent years there has been some formation of Puerto Rican gangs, particularly in Manhattan, where the majority of them are living. Though, occasionally, they have been involved in street fights with neighborhood gangs, they apparently have not become so dangerous as some of the ill-reputed Harlem street gangs.

Car-stealings and sex offenses are the only delinquencies of a more serious nature in which Puerto Ricans have engaged to about the same extent as Training School students of other ethnical origin. (The two isolated instances of arson, one in each group, may be disregarded.) As for sex offenses of Puerto Ricans, the frequent occurrence of venereal diseases in their community, discussed above under Section III, seems to indicate a somewhat lax attitude toward sexual relations. With the little material on hand, it is difficult to determine whether this attitude is a result of overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions or an expression of a philosophy in sex matters which differs from the conventional North American approach to, for exam-

ple, such phenomena as pre- or extra-marital sex relationships and homosexuality.¹⁹

Delinquent behavior of the Puerto Rican boys studied by us showed itself with significant frequency as maladjustment at home and/or in school; 24.8 per cent, nearly one-fourth of all our cases, come under this category, while the corresponding figure of the control group is only 13.3 per cent. Here we seem to have a clear indication of conflicts between the older and the younger generation or of the immediate emotional impact on a child of a sudden far-reaching change of his social and cultural environment. On the whole, Chenault's observation that Puerto Rican children "present no special problem of serious delinquency" apparently still holds true.

VI

It would seem that from our material the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. The majority of Puerto Rican delinquent boys committed to the New York State Training School for Boys were born in New York City or came to the United States in early childhood. A comparatively small number of those born in Puerto Rico who have spent a few years only in New York City seems to have reacted to a sudden change of their social-cultural environment.

2. The majority of Puerto Rican delinquents come from a seriously deprived economic background. The immediate consequence of this difficult economic situation frequently is a home broken by the separation of the parents. In this re-

¹⁹ The so-called "Kinsey Report"—Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948)—limits itself to American whites and does not include Latin-Americans (pp. 75-76), to whom Puerto Ricans seem to be closer culturally than to the North American white population.

spect, the Puerto Rican community does not seem to differ very much from other ethnical groups.

3. It is noteworthy that the number of neglect cases which come to the attention of the courts was much higher with the Puerto Rican group than with families of other national origin. This, in all probability, is due to the lack of child welfare agencies within the Puerto Rican community.

4. On the average, physical conditions of Puerto Rican boys were worse than those of the boys of the control group studied by us. There was a strikingly high percentage of malnutrition and of histories of tuberculosis and mental illness in the immediate families of the Puerto Ricans. As far as venereal diseases are concerned, their frequency with Puerto Ricans and with other ethnical groups seems to be about the same. Alcoholism appears to be less prevailing with Puerto Ricans than with members of other national communities.

5. Intellectually the Puerto Rican boys compare quite favorably with others if the language handicap from which many are suffering is taken into

consideration and if their intelligence is judged on the basis of performance tests. Examinations given in Spanish are desirable in order to provide us with a more accurate picture of the intellectual capacities of this group.

6. Puerto Rican delinquency, on the whole, is of a milder type. Ungovernability, home desertions, truancy, and other comparatively minor manifestations of maladjustment in the home and/or in school are prevalent. Burglary and gang activities, involving felonious assault and homicide, are much less frequent than with non-Puerto Ricans. Qualitatively speaking, the Puerto Rican boy in New York City does not present a serious delinquency problem. On the other hand, the proportion of young Puerto Rican delinquents to the total of their community appears to be higher than the delinquency rate of other ethnical groups. Unmistakably, we are confronted with a symptom of general maladjustment which will have to be dealt with not only in the field of child welfare but in such other areas as, for instance, those of public health, education, and labor as well.

HOLLIS, LONG ISLAND

MERIT SYSTEM EXAMINATIONS FOR THE LOCAL PUBLIC WELFARE FIELD

JOHN HOLMGREN¹

THE war years accentuated the increasing trend toward more professionalism of the social worker. Agencies, both private and public, but particularly public agencies, are requiring more and better graduate social work training. Along with this emphasis on the need for higher academic work, the need for personnel better equipped to handle the myriad of social welfare problems has been a basis for the development of merit-system examinations as a partial fulfilment of this need and an objective technique in recruiting the best workers. Generally, the merit-system process and the civil service pendulum is swinging back in the postwar period to encompass many professions and positions, and the social work profession is one of the most significant to consider as related to civil service practices.

One important impetus for merit examining of public welfare workers, from the clerk to the public welfare executive, stems from the Social Security Act and the desire of the federal government to encourage merit-system procedures. As a result, and as a part of state plans for federal financial participation, states provide for the formation and continuation of "methods of administration . . . relating to the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis."²

¹ Special examiner, Public Assistance Division Program, Cook County Civil Service Commission.

² Social Security Act, as amended, March 1, 1947, Title I, sec. 2 (a) 5, and Titles III, IV, and V.

PROGRAM IN COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

The techniques and procedures involved in the administration of this type of modern postwar examining program may be illustrated by the series of seven examinations held by the Cook County Civil Service Commission for the Public Assistance Division of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare in May and June, 1948. An advisory committee, made up of prominent representatives of the field of social work in Chicago, was appointed by the commission to act as consultant in setting up minimum requirements and standards for grading training and experience, in assembling written test questions, and in helping organize the composition and conduct of oral examining boards. As professional fields become increasingly specialized, commissions and merit-system agencies all over the country are relying to an increasing extent on consultants in the specialized fields to assist in merit-system examinations and to serve as volunteer civic committees interested in selecting the best candidates from the total number of applicants interested in the public service.

Examinations conducted in Cook County (Chicago) included six original entrance examinations (where outsiders as well as temporary appointees in the service are admitted to the examination once minimum requirements are met) covering the positions of case worker, home economics consultant, medical social worker, medical assistance consult-

ant, assistant division director, and division director. One promotional examination was held for the position of supervising case worker. This latter type of examination admits all civil service workers in the Bureau who have the status of case workers. The resulting supervising case worker eligible list is later used to fill any vacancies that may occur in the classified service.

Rating training and experience.—The committee worked with commission personnel technicians in determining, for example, that eighteen semester-hours in graduate social work and one year's experience as a social worker in a recognized social work agency, public or private, was to be required for admission to the written and oral tests for case worker. The advisory consultant committee then went ahead to eliminate all applicants not meeting this basic requirement for the position and to grade the training and experience of accepted candidates. This was done by establishing a raw-score "Table of Credits" related to the graduate credit system of all schools of social work in the country on the basis of the semester-hours credited to the candidate. After a raw score for education was found for each candidate, a raw score for experience was determined on the basis of quantity (within the last ten years only) and quality of experience. The quality of positions previously held by applicants was determined by the committee on the basis of pooled knowledge as to the kind of agency and the type of supervision given to case workers in the agency considered. Thus, an "Agency-Position Evaluation Chart" was drawn up, discussed, and reviewed in the light of materials and knowledge of the agency's performance and status in the field of social work. Positions throughout the field and throughout

various agencies, as reflected in questionnaires of applicants, were likewise rated against one another on a competitive basis, and raw scores were finally accorded these positions for the experience portion of the training and experience grade value. Conversion scales were used to change raw scores to grades on a range of 60 to 100. This same procedure was employed in rating both training and experience of the other positions.

Selection of written materials.—The Social Security Board, which was abolished in 1946, with some of its functions being placed in the Federal Security Agency, established the State Technical Advisory Service in 1939 to render consultative aid to merit-system jurisdictions, and this unit has done a great deal of pioneer work in the preparation of sample test materials covering all phases of the public assistance program. The Advisory Service develops its sample test material on the basis of the class specifications of public welfare agencies which are a part of the "State Plans" on file in Washington. The Cook County Civil Service Commission requested these materials, and, when they were received, the Cook County Special Advisory Committee reviewed all the sample items for determination of the appropriateness of those items that best fitted the needs of the examination under consideration. Additional local items were also developed, with commission staff help, to include areas not covered by the more general professional materials prepared by the State Technical Advisory Service.³ Questions were also developed locally with the aid of consultants in the fields of home economics and medical social work.

³ This unit has recently been redesignated "Division of State Technical Services" in the Office of Federal State Relations of the Federal Security Agency.

Oral examinations.—The committee drew up a list of tentative oral examiners which reflected a cross-section of three important fields of activity with reference to these examinations. These were the fields of social service, both public and private; the personnel field, industrial and governmental; and the field of those civic groups interested in the kind of democratic process represented by a sound merit-system examining program. On the basis of requests sent to approximately a hundred and fifty important leaders in these fields in the community, one hundred and five oral examiners formed "three-man" interview boards which met and discussed with each candidate the characteristics necessary for the position other than the more specific professional knowledge previously examined in the written tests. Prior discussion by commission technicians with the board members, together with complete informational training material on the conduct and administration of oral tests, helped insure the standardization of a testing program involving so large a group of applicants.

The oral test, usually given a weight of 30 on the entire examination, is an informal interview between candidates and board, in which the candidate discusses, following prompting of the board, the field or profession under consideration and attempts to convince the interviewing board that his personality and character properly fit the needs of the job. Characteristics rated on a scoring sheet in this instance included appearance, manner, self-expression, mental alertness (quickness in responding to problems posed in questions), poise, and probable supervisory qualities. Finally, the candidate's fitness for the job is an over-all summation and is accorded a high poten-

tial score on the rating sheet. That there was uniformity in standards of scoring between members of one board and between boards was later evidenced by the grades shown on rating sheets.

The lay public was well represented on the Cook County oral interview boards. Chief among the lay groups represented on each of the three boards were veterans' organizations, women's group voters' organizations, unions, civil service and employee associations, local business clubs, and private industry. The Advisory Committee felt that this type of three-person board represented an approach that was threefold in nature: (1) the presence of a professional social welfare worker assured each board of a professional orientation in the line and direction of its questions with a candidate; (2) a personnel technician could help the others in understanding the rating form and rating process; and (3) a representative of the public helped to insure the continuation of public interest in a knowledge of merit-system principles as well as to further a sound public relations policy in the county.

The success of the community participation in the project in Cook County was later evidenced by a questionnaire which was sent to all examiners. The question was asked: "Will you serve in future oral examinations for the Cook County Civil Service Commission?" Out of 105 such requests, 95 replied (definitely) "Yes," and the rest promised to serve or to provide alternates from their firm, agency, or organization.

Following interviews of 269 candidates by thirty-five of these three-man boards in one morning, grades and scores for all three phases of the examination or "batteries of tests" were assembled. Passing grades for training and experience evalu-

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ation and for written and oral tests were combined for each candidate. The resulting general averages of two hundred eligibles determined for the commission the established eligible list of two hundred workers to be posted for the Public Assistance Division of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare.

SUMMARY

The Advisory Committee, formed in January, 1948, participated in the first six months of the year. Early in the program the committee had appointed a subcommittee which worked closely with personnel technicians in the commission office in the actual details of the work outlined in the policies of the larger committee. Here again, the public relations aspect of inviting leaders to participate as representatives of the field in which examinations are conducted is substantiated by the good relations which follow. Seen from another light, use of volunteer local consultants can aid the small examining agency where funds to appoint special field consultants are limited.

At the conclusion of the program the Advisory Committee submitted a summary report to the commission, based on its six months of part-time participation in examinations in the field of social work. Chief among the recommendations were the following, which will perhaps be of interest in other welfare agencies in the important aspect of merit-system examining and recruiting of select personnel in the social work field:

1. For purposes of objectivity and standardization, the commission should continue the pattern and techniques of examining for the hierarchy of positions in the social work field in the county classified service as set up in this series of examinations.
2. Because of the rigid veterans' preference rule in Cook County (all veterans receiving

a passing grade are automatically placed at the head of the list), and because of the need of increasing objectivity in grading army experience, the commission should request additional war-service records of veterans, such as military qualification records (Form 100) in addition to honorable discharges.

3. Examinations should be held whenever eligible lists become exhausted in order to insure a continuous supply of qualified personnel from which to draw in filling future vacancies in the Bureau.

The committee summary report also commended the commission for the standards and methods worked out cooperatively during the period of the committee's service and for the co-operation which not only brought the best of civil service techniques and methods to the selection of social workers for the classified service but also considered the potential employees in the light of the needs of the social welfare agency and the background and standards of the social work profession.

The advantages realized by the professional social workers in this kind of increasing participation in merit-system techniques, and in the merit-system process generally, are obvious. Learning more about the objectives of a local civil service program through participant observation not only will help to further the professionalization of the field but will also help social work agencies solve the difficult problem of competent selection, recruitment, and tenure of a staff of qualified workers.

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THE BRITISH EXPERIMENT IN FAMILY ALLOWANCES

FREDA YOUNG

FAMILY allowances have been argued about and advocated in Great Britain for more than a generation. Yet now that the Family Allowances Act, 1945, is on the statute-books, one hardly hears anything about them. The reasons for this and some estimate of the background of the situation is the purpose of this article.

THE BACKGROUND

Let us examine, first, the controversy on family allowances, beginning before World War I and having among its sponsors many a name revered wherever Western civilization is valued. Of these, none ranks higher than the late Eleanor Rathbone, with whose name the "cause" will always be linked. It was she who wrote *The Disinherited Family* in 1924, and it was she who was president of the Family Endowment Society subsequently to be formed. Of the arguments she expounded so faithfully all her life, two stand out now as of special significance. The first is that the child is not a private luxury but an asset to the community, and for that reason the community ought to take a share in his upkeep. This conception is now generally accepted, a fact which is perhaps not surprising in a country with a phenomenally low birth rate and with an age distribution in its population that makes old age increasingly predominant and young people a scarcity.

The second argument concerns the British wage structure. It had been argued that minimum wages should be made to cover the needs of the normal

family, said to be composed of the parents and three children. In fact, replied Miss Rathbone, very few families in Britain do conform to this convenient size. Of them all, 12½ per cent have three children or more, while 87½ per cent have fewer than three children. A minority of families on this showing would be receiving sufficient or too little in minimum wages to cover needs, while a majority would be receiving too much. The injustice of this, she goes on to say, would not be so apparent were it not for the existence of the large families. Thus when all children under sixteen are counted, it is found that 37½ per cent of them belong to the 12½ per cent of the families; and a wage system which is geared, no matter how indirectly, to the needs of a so-called "normal family" is demonstrably unjust to a large percentage of children.

Such a line of argument precipitates the essential issues. What are family allowances intended to be? Are they to be an addition to wages, and thus be part of the family budget; or are they to be something specifically put aside for the benefit of the child? If the latter, then the allowance should be so designed that the child, and the child alone, can benefit. This means either payment in cash, when it would require close police supervision to guarantee that the money is spent legitimately, or payment in kind, direct to the child in the form of goods and services.

The advocates of family allowances have tended to shy away from such a literal interpretation of the idea, and they have argued that family allowances

should be paid in cash into the general pool of the ordinary family income and keep the child at the same time that the income improves the financial potentialities of the family. It has never been suggested that the amount of the grant should be more than mere subsistence, or a contribution to this minimum level. Thus, where the family wage is low, the effect of the allowance is great. But the effect diminishes as the cash level of the wage rises. And this, as will be shown later, is the main reason family allowances in 1948 are having so relatively little impression in Britain.

The chief opponents of family allowances have been the trade-unions, which feared, quite naturally, that, if once the emotional argument were withdrawn and workers could no longer plead for a standard of wages high enough to keep the normal family, then wages would come tumbling down. In the interwar years it was easy to appreciate the trade-union point of view. They felt their own weakness in numbers and in bargaining power with the employers. The cost of living was falling, and the argument for keeping up the level of cash wages was weakened thereby. To agree to a reduction in cash wages was to weaken their hold on the workers, and any lack of strength in membership further undermined their position with the employers. It is quite understandable, therefore, that they should suspect a device like family allowances, which might reduce their bargaining power and put a handle in the hands of the employers to lower wages perhaps even by the amount of the allowance.

Be that as it may, the implacable, though usually tacit, opposition of the trade-unions up to the outbreak of the second World War was an effective preventive to the establishment of any gen-

eral system of family allowances in the country, even had the government of those days been of a different political color. It is one of the ironies that during a time when one dollar per week¹ per child after the first would have had some real effect on the family income and well-being the system was never seriously considered. And when now it is finally introduced, it has hardly caused a ripple on the deep waters of social life.

Family allowances were not, of course, unknown during the interwar years. They were basic to the various social insurance and social assistance schemes. They were accepted, too, by such dissimilar employing bodies as the Methodist church and the London School of Economics, as well as gratuitously by a few private firms. And there was a recognition of the needs of children in the complicated structure of our income-tax allowances.

But it was not until three years of war had so changed our ideas and our economic life that a document as far-reaching as the *Beveridge Report on Social Security* could be accepted by the general population almost without dissent; it was not until then that all classes of the community were ready to accept the notion of family allowances. Beveridge declared, as one of his three assumptions without which his scheme of social security would be unworkable, that family allowances must be paid.

His arguments differ somewhat from those of the past. First, he said, comes the economic one. Wages are the product of a man's labor and are not, and should not be, paid according to the size of his family (hypothetical or otherwise). A

¹ This figure, like other figures in this article, represents the exact cash equivalent in dollars to the sterling payment in shillings; the real value in buying power is about 50% higher.

man should have subsistence while he is working, irrespective of the size of his family. Second, unemployment benefit (with family allowances) should never be higher than the lowest level of wages. Otherwise there is no incentive to work. In the interwar years there were many cases of men with large families who found that they got more money on the "dole" than if they were working. (This was particularly true for unskilled workers.) This, as everyone will agree, is insupportable. One part of the solution, doubtless, would be to raise the minimum wage of the lowest-paid workers. But family allowances paid to all wage-earners would prevent insurance benefit (with family allowances) acting as a deterrent to work. Third, a declining population demands that parents should bring children into the world without jeopardizing the opportunities of those already there. Those who are born should have the best possible chance, and the community should help to bear the responsibility. Thus, he tacitly eschews the argument that family allowances would increase the birth rate—an argument that has always had some weight with our Continental neighbors but has never been seriously canvassed in Britain. Finally, the quotes from the findings of social surveys, whether of London, Liverpool, Southampton, York, and the rest, that the greatest single cause of poverty is children and that an income may be sufficient to keep husband and wife and one child but is grossly deficient when the family grows to seven or eight.

The coping stone was put on British readiness for this social change when at the T.U.C. Conference of 1944 the trade-unions (now strong in themselves and in the full stream of rising money and real wages) declared themselves supporters of family allowances along with the rest of

the Beveridge Plan. It was not difficult, then, for the Coalition government in 1945 to introduce and pass through all its stages a bill proposing the immediate introduction of family allowances. Discussion in Parliament centered around its provisions rather than against the principle itself.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES ACT, 1945

Even so the Family Allowances Act is a compromise. First, it accepts the view that a man in work should take some responsibility for his family. Therefore, he should be expected to maintain wholly the oldest child under sixteen or school-leaving age, whichever is the earlier, and family allowances should begin with the second such child. (Incidentally this saves the Exchequer half a billion dollars per annum, since with the present distribution of births there are more first children than any other kind. Then the scale of the allowance is fixed to exclude the factor of rent, although, to be sure, the larger the family, the larger should be the house and, thus, the larger the rent. Furthermore, the cash allowance of one dollar per week is not intended to be the whole contribution of the community to the individual family. For payment in kind is also available, thus compromising on the old controversy of whether payment should be in cash or in kind. Payment in kind takes many forms. It may be the sale at clinics and elsewhere of below-cost body-building foods, such as the national dried milk for babies, the cheap-liquid-milk schemes for children, fruit juices, and the like. Or it may be the school-meals scheme, which at present is run at a small charge to all children who can afford it but is intended to be run eventually as an entirely free service. Or it may be the free-milk-in-schools scheme, whereby all school children re-

ceive a free quota of milk each day. It is estimated that eventually the payment in kind to children will represent the equivalent of another dollar a week at present-day prices. Thus the cash value of family allowances is intended to be at least two dollars per week for each child after the first.

There are four points about the Family Allowances Act which deserve special attention. The most important is the decision to pay for the scheme wholly out of the Treasury. It was argued with a good deal of force that, when eventually the new social insurance scheme is launched, an employee will find that he has quite enough to pay in contribution (almost a dollar per week) without having the additional burden of family allowances in the scheme. The advice of Beveridge was therefore followed, and allowances are paid for wholly out of taxes. This is a complete break from all Continental experience, where allowances are based on industry, with or without an equalization fund.

The next points also deal with finance. For, under the British scheme, family allowances are paid at a flat rate, i.e., there is no differentiation according to the age of the child or the income of the parent. There is much difference of opinion on both these questions. Parents claim that, while one dollar per week may be barely enough to make some difference when the child is very young, it is grossly inadequate to meet the needs of a growing boy or girl of twelve to sixteen. A claim is, therefore, made for a differential allowance paid according to the age of the child. This would be no new departure in British social experience, for children's allowances in unemployment assistance (i.e., assistance paid after the period of insurable benefit is over) have always been paid on this basis.

The argument against a flat rate for different income groups is less tenable than the above. It is maintained that if parenthood is to be encouraged in the higher-income groups, where the birth rate shows such a lamentable decline, something much more than one dollar per week will have to be the bait. Indeed, all kinds of grandiose schemes of special compulsory insurances according to income have been proposed. Doubtless these schemes would provide the money for differential allowances according to income. But whether the payment of large allowances would achieve a rise in the birth rate in the middle- and higher-income groups is quite another matter. So far, our knowledge of human motive in deciding on the size of the family is too limited for us to generalize. All we do know is that the cost of rearing children in the higher-income groups is high not because of their actual maintenance but because of the frills of civilized living their parents demand for them—their expensive education, their social and cultural amenities, and the like. And, though these demands may be excellent in themselves, it is unlikely in a world such as ours that society can be expected directly to subsidize them.

The final point about the Act that deserves notice is that, though the allowance is legally the property of either the father or the mother, and the court can, if necessary designate the one or the other, it must, in general, be paid to the mother. Thus the struggles of a generation to achieve some financial recognition of the mother in respect of her children have at last been crowned with success.

EFFECT OF THE ACT ON THE PARENTS

What can we say has been the effect of the Act? In practice it varies. It would be true to say that most men ignore this

factor in the family income and pay the same proportion of their wages as before into the general pool. Thus a common remark among men is: "I know very little about the family allowance; all I know is my wife collects it, and I do not see it." There is a small minority of men who deduct the grant from the allowances they give their wives. But this type of man would in any case seek what opportunity he could to divert to his own uses as large a proportion of his wages as possible.

As for the women, it is difficult to generalize. Undoubtedly most use the money for the direct benefit of the children. But some do regard the weekly sum as a dress allowance for themselves. This is not thought to be reprehensible in most cases by social workers in closest touch with family conditions. After all, a woman needs some financial independence to increase her self-respect. And self-respect in the mother breeds self-respect in the home and redounds to the benefit of the family. Others, and this is mainly in the higher-income groups, are determined to save every penny of the allowance for the child's own use either now or later, e.g., for clothing, a holiday, or to help in some special expenditure. Yet others fritter away the money in drink or other improvident living. The jeremiads have always prophesied that this would happen, and undoubtedly it does, but not to anything like the extent that many people have feared. Indeed, it is only the very few who do it; they are the ones who frequent our law courts and family welfare agencies and upon whom the limelight seems to shine. The vast majority are decent, hard-working people who are doing their job reasonably and who welcome an additional dollar per week and use it as well as they can. But they are not "news" and are seldom heard about.

This brings me to the amount of the cash benefit itself and to the reason why we have heard so relatively little about family allowances. In the first place, one dollar per week per child is not enough to make much difference to the family budget. It would not sole a pair of shoes at present-day prices. Consequently, though in the lower-income groups—as in transport workers and agricultural laborers—every little is welcome, the high level of prices makes the allowance practically negligible unless the family under school-leaving age is very large indeed. When one considers the wages of many workers, notably miners and engineers, the actual weekly amount being earned is so relatively high that family allowances are not necessary at all if they are to be regarded as a contribution to elementary needs. This is not to argue against the principle of the Act but rather to explain why in the short run, when wages and prices are high, the effect has been almost a damp squib. Should wages fall to any extent and if allowances continue to be paid, then we shall hear more of these grants, and the effect they have on the mass of the wage-earners will be infinitely stronger.

THE EFFICACY OF THE EXPERIMENT ON THE CHILDREN

It is left now to consider what standards of assessment we should use in measuring the efficacy of this experiment. The Act is called "Family Allowances" not "Children's Allowances." Yet so difficult is it to measure any "family" effects that perforce we must limit ourselves to what is known about their effect on children. Here we might well confine ourselves to four criteria: (1) health, (2) appearance, (3) educability, and (4) happiness. In none is it possible to isolate family allowances as a dominant factor. Yet it is sure-

ly permissible to suggest that the existence of such grants is an important item in the ultimate estimate.

Take first the health of children. Reports from the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health confirm that at no time has this been so uniformly good. In spite of rationing, war conditions, blitzed towns, and the like, the health of the school child and the preschool child is remarkably good. This is largely due to the special nourishment children receive and which is a part of family allowances (see above). While making this claim, it would be unreal to ignore the effect of other social changes in the past few years such as the measures dealing with maternal and child welfare, dating from 1918 and earlier and reaching a crescendo in 1935, when the Ministry of Health issued a special memorandum to local government authorities to step up prenatal attention and the care of young children, and in 1938, when the passing of the Midwives Act made the attendance of qualified midwives compulsory in all childbirth. Moreover, the greater prosperity of the working classes during the war years and after and the virtual extinction of unemployment have meant that parents now have the money to feed their families in a way that was impossible before; e.g., in spite of rationing and a price double the pre-war figure, Britons consume one and a quarter times as much milk as they did in 1938.

On appearance, too, reports are universally favorable. Teachers, doctors, and social workers alike are agreed on the uniform improvement in standards of cleanliness and appearance. There are still children to be found with dirty heads and inadequate clothing, but in comparison with the past they have sunk to a small minority. This, too, is not a phe-

nomenon of the last three years. It has been showing itself for nearly a generation. What is outstanding lately is the way charity funds for footwear and clothing have been piling up their income because the need for expenditure has been so much reduced. This is largely the result of regular employment and better wages, but family allowances must not be forgotten.

Regarding educability, the story is not so happy. Teachers report that there is a distinct sign in many children of less responsiveness to educational stimuli. There could be several explanations of this. Some suffer from too large classes. There are too few teachers. Buildings are inadequate. But these are no new maladies. Indeed, in all these respects there is distinct improvement from, say, a generation ago. They are little if any worse than pre-war. Evacuation and war conditions have upset many children. This is undoubtedly a factor, for, besides interrupted schooling, so many children suffered mental and emotional strain in evacuation that their educability is sure to be affected. A further explanation may lie in methods of grading school children now. Before the Education Act of 1944 there was much less differentiation between children than there has been since. Thus a teacher before the war would have a fair sprinkling of bright children in the class as well as dull ones and would be correspondingly encouraged. Today the creaming-off process is much more efficient, and many classes and indeed whole schools are left with relatively backward children. It is small wonder, then, that many teachers note a lowering in standards. But, even here, a settled home background with fewer financial worries to provoke tensions should have its effect on the educability of the child.

Finally, there is the question of happiness, the most important and the least liable to measurement or accurate assessment. What are the essentials of happiness to a child? They are security and love in his home background and freedom and approval to develop himself and his capabilities. It is obvious that mere money will guarantee none of these. But the absence of money has often made their attainment extremely difficult. Thus family allowances have their part

to play. At the moment in Britain the part is small except if the family of youngsters is large and the wage is low (e.g., a farm laborer with seven children under school-leaving age would find his income increased by as much as one-third). But there is significance in these very exceptions, which under a less inflated economy might well become the rule.

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SHOULD MOTHERS WORK?

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THE belief that it should not be necessary for a mother to work in order to provide bare sustenance for her small children is becoming increasingly a part of our social philosophy. As this conviction has gained support throughout this country, it has found expression not only in the practices of private social agencies but also in provisions of the federal social security legislation which make available financial assistance for mothers who have no other means of providing for their children.

A social philosophy translated into its practical implications means increased taxes and/or increased demands upon the budgets of community chests. All the forces against increased taxation or increased expenditures by private agencies are then mobilized to hamper the fulfillment of the theoretically acceptable social philosophy. The struggle between the desire to aid fatherless children and to lessen the burden their mothers must carry and the demand that expenditures be kept at a minimum results in various attempts to find a satisfactory compromise. At times it is suggested that mothers with one child can work or that mothers who are physically and mentally able should work. In other cases the anger of society or the resentment of the social worker is expressed in the demand that a particular mother work. If the mother has violated social mores, society wishes to punish her. If her rapport with the social worker has been poor, the worker may wish to punish her. The underlying motivations, as well as unwise penuriousness, can be masked by

subservience to the demands of economy.

The limits of taxation or of a community-chest budget are dangerous criteria for evaluating the responsibility to be assumed by any community. Funds for preventive measures are too often sacrificed in order to meet the demands for community care of those who, because preventive measures were curtailed, have become either a danger to, or a burden upon, society. Funds supplied to care for destroyed personalities provide only relative safety and a clear conscience for society. Funds utilized for the proper care of children are invested funds paying dividends in terms of the ultimate contributions made by those children when they become adults. It is, after all, an established fact that what the adult becomes is to a large extent dependent upon his childhood. Taxation or private agency expenditures which provide an optimum physical and emotional environment for a child reimburse the community during the entire lifetime of that child.

Certainly, therefore, the mother's decision to seek employment should not depend on the need for financial assistance. It must be based on a full evaluation of the emotional and social needs of herself and her child. To set up criteria for mothers in financial need different from those for mothers with lesser need is, in effect, to defeat the basic purpose of the Aid to Dependent Children Law (its predecessor, Mothers' Pensions), the Children's Charter of the White House Conference in 1909, and the fundamental philosophy of public assistance. Regula-

tions urging the employment of mothers as an alternative to seeking financial assistance for themselves and their children cloak the application policy with duress.

The significance of the philosophy that a mother with small children should not be required to work in order to provide for her children is dependent upon the wisdom of, rather than the economic reasons for, plans to work or not to work. It is dangerous to assume that a necessary corollary to that philosophy is that a mother of small children should not work. There are too many factors involved to make a dogmatic statement or a generalization.

The social worker carries a responsibility to help the mother evaluate the inherent strengths and weaknesses of her relationship with her children and the factors in the cultural and environmental pattern that frame the family's adjustment in the community. He also is responsible for helping the agency and the tax-supporting or contributing groups to recognize the basic rights of mothers to make their decisions regarding employment.

In an attempt to contribute to thinking through the various considerations necessary before determining whether or not a mother should work, the following material was offered at the Illinois Welfare Conference in Peoria, Illinois, on November 8, 1948.

FROM A PSYCHIATRIST'S POINT OF VIEW

When the child is an infant, the mother is the source of his security in the world into which he has entered and which he has practically no tools to master. Physical discomfort is the first anxiety-creating event the small infant experiences. Food and warmth relieve this discomfort. Such comfort theoretically

could be given in a nursery and by anyone. It has been observed, however, that impersonal physical care does not give complete comfort. Recent studies of newborn infants indicate that the child does better under the ministrations of a responsive person who fondles the child as well as meets his physical needs. His respiratory and cardiac rhythm are established more quickly. Furthermore, he behaves as a contented, responsive infant rather than as a fussy or vegetable-like piece of protoplasm.¹ From birth the child thrives in a maternal atmosphere. Such atmosphere should be provided in order to facilitate the infant's physical adjustment to the external world. It must be provided either by the mother herself or by an adequate mother-substitute.

This experience with a maternal person has expanding value to the child as he begins to respond to and explore the external world. As the child becomes aware of opportunities, possible dangers, and more and more unknowns in the world about him, he is stimulated but uneasy. This uneasiness is no longer relieved by physical care. If the mother has been the source of relief from his first unhappy experiences, he now turns to her for relief from the anxiety created by his growing awareness. He has become emotionally dependent upon her. Through this dependency he gains a feeling of security. She will offer protection against dangers that may exist and with which he cannot cope. This sense of security makes it possible for him to expand his activities and interests without being overwhelmed by fear. It is important, therefore, that the relief from physical discomfort in the first few weeks of life be associated with people who are consistent.

¹ Margaret A. Ribble, *The Rights of Infants* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).

ently present, so that he does not have to explore his environment for a source of emotional security but finds it in the same contacts he has known as a source of comfort during his brief life. It is this continuity of gratification that makes possible the most comfortable, and therefore the most constructive, transition from interuterine life, through infancy and childhood, to adulthood with its achievement of a mastery of the external world.

This dependency gratification that is so essential in early infancy gradually loses its importance during the maturation of the child. Its significance is most apparent during the first six years of life. As the child, through social contacts and through school experiences, gains new confidence in his own ability to handle situations that arise and as he transfers some of his emotional ties to his own age group and to other adults, he manifests less need for an intense tie to his parents or parent-substitutes. This shift, however, is possible only when the child is confident of his ability to deal with the demands which the external world places upon him and when he requires only diluted experiences of dependency gratification. Faced with some problem with which he feels completely incapable of dealing, he has again an intense need to turn to someone who will give him the same depth of security that was so essential in his earlier life. He then seeks the security he can consistently find only in parent-figures.

The child's need, therefore, is to have through childhood a source of dependency security and gratification, from which he may draw as he has a need for it and which he may gracefully relinquish as he ceases to have that need. Permission for the latter step is as important as assurance of gratification is in the former. The

parental role is that of giving security when it is needed but of permitting the child to break away as the child feels ready to hazard more self-dependence. The child gains confidence in himself partly through success in handling experiences to which he is exposed. He gains it, also, because of evidence given by parental figures that they have confidence in his growth. Furthermore, the goal of maturity is not easy to attain. If the child must meet, in addition to all the normal stresses of the maturing process, barricades irrationally placed by parents who resist his maturation, the task may prove too great. The child may then give up his attempt to attain emotional adulthood and, accepting defeat, remain a child.

Adults have another function in their role as parents. They are the chief source of the child's concept of adulthood. Standards of behavior and attitudes toward life are not gained primarily through listening to lectures or innuendoes concerning what people as adults should be. Concepts of ideals, morals, and ethics, if gained only through the ears, tend to remain intellectual abstractions and become a part of the emotional structure of the child only after a long struggle. It is not what we know but what we feel that determines the more significant aspect of our behavior in a social world. The child "learns" his code of living most easily through living with people to whom he has a strong emotional tie. What he "learns" is then a part of his personality structure rather than of his intellect alone. Thus the most stable philosophy of life and social living has its roots in the interrelationship between the child and the parent-figures and the experiences the child has with their philosophy.

It is a characteristic of human nature

to dream of a utopia, a utopia in which all our sentimental ideals are translated into valid sentiments. Nowhere is this tendency more apparent than it is in regard to our attitude toward motherhood. Since it appears that children need mothers, there is a wish to believe that all women can fulfil that mission. Such wishful thinking ignores the fact that the mother of a child is also an individual in her own right and therefore has a personality that is a composite picture of all her needs, conflicts, potentialities, and inadequacies. In evaluating a mother-child relationship, it is thus important to approach the mother sympathetically and with understanding in order to determine her potentials in her biologically imposed role as a mother. It is folly to dream that all mother-child relationships will meet the child's needs. It is imperative that in each individual case plans be formulated that guarantee a maximum utilization of what the relationship can offer and a minimum opportunity for the expression of its destructive aspects. Translated into practicalities, this implies that the mother must be expected to meet the dependency needs of her child only to the extent to which she is capable. Demanding more of her will arouse resentment in her that will result in diminished returns to the child. She must also be given an opportunity to fulfil her maternal role with her optimum capacity. If she does not, she will feel frustrated and unhappy and thus, inadvertently, will fail to meet the child's needs because she herself is too preoccupied with her own distress. She must further be assisted to find gratifications outside her role as a mother, so she can relinquish the child as the child feels safer. Otherwise she may unconsciously attempt to arrest the child's development so as to continue to meet her own

emotional needs. Finally, she should be given an opportunity and encouragement to find a pattern of life gratifying to herself and acceptable to the community. Otherwise the child may have greater difficulty in developing an attitude toward life and social living that will constructively serve rather than destructively attack the social world.

In order to understand the problems of mothers, we must understand the individual not only as a mother but also as a person beyond the realm of motherhood. The following material by no means elucidates all the factors to be considered. It outlines briefly and inadequately some meanings a child may have to a mother.

While children do, at times, find other parental figures, the mother should not be expected to carry alone the responsibility of giving the child emotional security and support; nor should she ideally be the only contributor to the child's developing sense of his place in the world. The child needs both parents, particularly to furnish the pattern of adult womanhood and manhood. Many mothers must, because of the inadequacy, desertion, or death of the father, carry the major part of the task of parenthood. For her to fulfil her role to the best of her ability under any circumstances, but particularly when she is the only parent, is not by any means a simple undertaking.

Some women do not have the capacity to be mothers under any circumstances and thus have an unfortunate effect upon the emotional development of their children. This fact does not negate the value of mothers. It only indicates that, because of character distortion or of emotional immaturity, certain women are incapable of functioning in a mother-role. Between the extremes of the theoretically ideal mother and the woman incapable

of functioning in that role at all there is a wide range of individual differences. Most women who have children have some capacity for maternity. This capacity, however, may be crippled under certain conditions and may be brought to its maximum availability under modified circumstances.

Some women can be maternal within certain limits, beyond which they destroy the rewards of their achievements as mothers. This limit may be defined by time span alone. In such cases the mother can, for a few hours a day, respond warmly to the child, only to become exhausted and then antagonistic to him as the time lengthens beyond her tolerance. The limit may rather be set by the tasks the mother has to complete. Keeping the child clean, cooking three meals a day, hearing "mamma" too often, may be the experiences that exhaust her patience and cause her to abandon her role of mother to give full vent to her own angry tension.

Another woman can give richly to her child if the emotional energy that is depleted in giving to him can be replaced by some gratification of her own needs. A woman, for example, may be frightened by the responsibilities she faces and may wish a support similar to the type for which her child is asking. She may be unable to master her anxiety without the security to be found in a dependent relationship or in a safe world. If her needs are met, she may be more capable of meeting those of her child.

Some women find optimum gratification in their roles as mothers and find other pleasures gratifying but of secondary importance, pleasures to be enjoyed successfully only after the optimum expression of themselves as mothers. Under ideal conditions motherhood is the most important function of a woman but is

not, even then, the sole gratification the woman seeks or should have. Other experiences must be a part of her life. It should also be recognized as axiomatic that, within rather broad limits, the positive value a mother has to her child is qualitative rather than quantitative. It is not solely the time a mother gives to the child that is important. It is the quality of emotional response she gives within the time span that is most significant!

It is because of the multiplicity of facts which play a part in the success or failure a woman experiences in motherhood that it is important to evaluate not only the meaning she has to the child but also the meaning the child has to her. It is often difficult to evaluate the latter. It is also not simple to determine how well she is functioning in her emotional relationship with a child. Some women seem completely absorbed in their children. Such a relationship may on the surface be an excellent one but basically may be destructive to both, more even to the child than to the mother. A mother who finds no gratification in life other than the fulfillment of the maternal role during the infancy of her child will struggle to avoid relinquishing it as the child develops his own potentialities, so that his need for his mother is lessened. In spite of the security such a mother gives to the infant, she will ultimately thwart his growth unless she has developed other outlets for satisfaction, so that she can gradually lessen her hold on the child and still not find herself in a vacuum.

On the other hand, a wholesomely maternal woman may feel cornered by the economic responsibilities of caring for her child. She may consider that the greatest contribution she can make as a mother is to work. Working, and thus caring for her child, comes to symbolize for her all her maternity. Such a point of

view is consistent with the belief of our culture that acceptance of financial responsibility and the maintenance of financial independence are the criteria of adequacy as an adult. The mother may then exhaust herself fulfilling her concept of maternity and adulthood, working long hours, and trying to maintain her home as well. In many instances the mother is so exhausted by the physical strain she is under that she is unable to give emotionally to the child, in spite of a primary capacity to do so. The child and the mother suffer in a relationship that actually need not be frustrating. Such a mother could perhaps find her satisfaction in being a mother rather than a provider. She often needs help in redefining her goal so that she can accept financial assistance in order to be free to be a mother.

In certain cases women who seem to be devoting all their time and thought to their children are doing so not because of any strong maternal feeling. They are actually investing emotional energy in their children that should be directed elsewhere. For example, a woman may be a widow with a child to care for. She feels frightened and alone in the world. She has a great need to find security and love somewhere. She turns to her child for emotional gratification and a sense of being loved. She, then, is asking the child to take the place of husband and parent. Her life is centered around the child, not because of the child's need but because of her own. She does not give emotional security to the child but rather creates anxiety in him because of her own anxiety. Furthermore, again, she will be unable to relinquish the child as he seeks to free himself from his infantile dependency relationships. A woman who is attempting to utilize her relationship with her child to meet multiple needs of her

own rather than expressing her own maternal feelings and meeting the needs of the child can perhaps be assisted to find another means of answering her emotional requirements that are beyond those of maternity.

Under certain circumstances mothers are sharply in conflict concerning their feeling toward their children. Many mothers are capable of being fairly adequate mothers if that role is not a matter of twenty-four-hour complete preoccupation with their children. A mother of this type may be ambivalent toward the child. On one hand, she wishes to be a good mother and often shows affection by overindulgence or oversolicitude. At the same time, perhaps without realizing it, she is struggling with real hostility toward, and actual rejection of, the child. This latter aspect of her relationship creates a feeling of uneasiness and guilt, which is then expressed through the over-anxiety, overindulgence, and effervescent type of affection that is associated with the so-called "rejecting" mother. It is important, however, to evaluate that terminology. Most mothers who are classified as rejecting mothers are actually ambivalent mothers. They are confused in their relationship with their children. The guilt is not solely the result of the rejection. There is some reason why the rejection causes guilt. One can reject an unsatisfactory acquaintance without guilt. Why is guilt aroused if one's own child is not accepted? A rejecting mother cannot overtly manifest the rejection, in part because of fear of society's condemnation. In most cases the stronger reason is the conflict created by the existence of a real affection for the child. This affection may be relatively immature. It may have many facets aside from maternal feelings. There is, in most cases of so-called "rejection," some positive nucleus

in the relationship to the child. This positive element should be preserved. It should again be preserved, however, by diverting the mother into other interests at times or by working through with her the meaning the child has to her. Until such a case can be adequately understood, the answer is neither to have the mother remain at home to hover anxiously over the child nor yet to have her be completely away from home in order to "distract" her and free the child. It is important that the child be given an opportunity to profit by the positive in the mother's relationship and to suffer a minimum of the mother's unwise handling of her rejection and resultant anxiety.

Why does a mother seek employment? She may do so because it is the only real solution she sees to her economic problems. It is not safe to assume, however, that that is her only or her real reason for working. As indicated earlier, some mothers, valuing their sense of adulthood and their capacity to meet reality, see working and supporting their children as expressions of their genuine wish to care for their children. On the other hand, they may fear the stigma of "charity" with its implication of inadequacy and condemnation. Thus pride in themselves as adults is threatened. They then will need help in understanding that financial support of the mother when a father is not available to care adequately for the family is not charity but a wise investment upon the part of the state or a private agency in her as a mother. The support serves the function of investing the interest of the people in the potentialities of her children, potentialities which she, above all others, can develop.

Another woman may seek employment in an attempt to free herself from the care of her child. In such incidences a

careful evaluation is again indicated. If she cannot bear the role of motherhood and is unable to give to her child except in terms of material benefits, she may be giving as much as she can give by working. On the other hand, through help in understanding herself she may be able to re-evaluate her relationship to her child, so that she can give more than financial support to him.

Women may seek employment because they feel the need to achieve in fields other than their homes. Maternity alone does not completely satisfy them. Social contacts are not available or offer too little satisfaction. These women try to fill in voids in their lives by being occupied outside their homes. Certainly, in some cases of this type the mother returns from employment stimulated and eager for the short period of companionship and emotional relationship with her child. She has just so much to give a child. She can give it intensely in a few hours, whereas spread over an entire day it would soon wear thin. Such mothers are actually better mothers because they do work.

The mother may further feel the need for support from adults. Often fellow-workers, foremen, or employers serve as parent-substitutes for an insecure woman who is frightened by being too much on her own. Her apparent gesture of independence as expressed in working is actually a cover-up for a strong need in herself to be dependent, a need she meets in the interrelationships in the job situation. Until she finds other security, it is preferable that she seek it in the world of employment rather than in the relationship with her child!

Employment may mean an opportunity to express some of her emotional energy in relationships with other people rather than investing all in her child. In

working, she may feel she is expressing some of her maternal drives in providing the needs and some luxuries for the child whom she loves above all else. If her work is also interesting, it may give her an opportunity to develop a broader emotional horizon than that encompassing only the needs of her dependent child.

The question to be studied in evaluating the desirability of any mother's working is therefore not that of the number of children she must care for, her physical or mental ability to work, or the availability of employment. The first step in deciding whether or not a mother should work is the evaluation of her potentialities as a mother and of the conditions under which she can give the optimum emotional gratification to the child. She must be relatively happy to be able to express her fullest emotional potential. Therefore, she must not be punished for working or for not working. Furthermore, she must be gaining other gratifications over and above those she gains from being a mother, so that she is able to let her child grow up without her remaining an emotional burden to him. She must also be fulfilling herself as a person, so that her own approach to life will be one which the child visualizes as a happy one to emulate rather than one of bitter resignation. Our goal in assisting mothers should be to foster any plan which helps them to be the most adequate mothers they are capable of being.

Employment for a mother may in many instances be very unwise, placing too great a burden upon her when she already faces responsibilities in her role with her child that taxes her ability to the utmost. On the other hand, it may offer a wise solution to mounting strains in the child-parent relationship. If the mother cannot function adequately be-

cause her resentment over daily domesticity smothers her maternal feelings, if her capacity to give to the child must be nurtured by experiences outside the home that are gratifying to her, if she is unable to allow the child to mature because her own emotional needs are met only through her relationships with an immature child, if any situation exists which detracts from her values as a mother, employment may offer a constructive means of dealing with the situation.

Full-time employment may not, on the other hand, be the wisest answer. It is unfortunate that many communities penalize the mother for part-time working by subtracting her earnings from the financial support given to her. In many situations the greatest therapeutic value of a mother's working could be obtained only if she is permitted the reward of moderate luxuries for her work, so that she can contribute material pleasures to herself and her child by working and yet have the assurance that essential needs will be met whether she works or not. Such a utilization of employment would imply a double budget. One would provide bare physical necessities, to be assured by the social agency. The other budget would, in addition, assure simple gratifications, to be provided by the mother's earnings. Until the latter budget is exceeded, the mother's earnings should not affect the contribution made by a social agency.

It should be borne in mind, furthermore, that not employment but social activities outside the home may offer a more constructive solution to the dilemma the individual mother faces. P.T.A.'s, settlement house programs, informal neighborhood activities, or freedom in the evening for social engagements may be the wisest way to meet her needs.

During her time out of the home she should be free of responsibility for her

child's immediate needs. Whether the mother works or becomes wholesomely involved in social activities, wise care of the child should be provided. Such provision not only should relieve the mother of anxiety concerning the child but should also assure the community that the type of care provided protects the child, both physically and emotionally. Whether this requirement is met by a nursery or by a "sitter" again requires evaluation of the particular situation.

Employment for a mother with small children should be considered as a tool to be used if it fosters a healthy child-mother relationship and should be discarded if it is a detriment to such an adjustment.

FROM A SOCIAL WORKER'S POINT OF VIEW

The decision to work or not to work is made by mothers with young children in all economic levels of our society. The problems of working mothers are also universal. However, when mothers apply to social agencies for assistance, there is a tendency to set up different criteria for determining the advisability of their seeking employment. Whether a mother with children should work is, at present, one of the most difficult problems with which social workers, particularly in public assistance agencies, are faced.

The approach of social agencies to this problem has varied, depending on the skills of its workers, the pressure of the community and press, and the attitude of the contributor or taxpayer. Thus the mother seeking assistance from a social agency may be encouraged or discouraged from seeking employment. Some agencies, public and private, discourage all mothers with young children from working; others openly encourage their employment, even under duress of rejecting applications for assistance. Some-

where between these extremes is the true position for the agency—the determination of whether the mother should work being based on full evaluation of her needs, her child's, the community's, and, eventually, those of the public welfare.

During the war there was an increase in the number of working mothers due to the attraction of large salaries, the emotional as well as the economic need to compensate for the absence of the normal wage earner, the appeal of the patriotic motive, and the general acceptance by the community of the working mother and her arrangements for her children during the working day. The development of day-care centers and their support by the government, as well as by industry, was an outgrowth of this movement of mothers into employment. Social agencies found it difficult to compete with these outside pressures in helping mothers to make their decision to work on a more fundamental basis. Some social agencies encouraged employment of mothers with children in order to reduce the financial tax or subscription burden, and they continue to do so.

There still is apparently too little regard for the public welfare, and what is ultimately less costly, and too much regard for what is presently less costly in amounts of current public assistance. There has been too little attention given by social agencies and the lay public to determining whether the needs of the mother with children, as well as the public welfare, are better served by the mother's working or by remaining at home. There has been too little recognition that some mothers are better mothers and members of society if they are employed either full or part time and that some children are happier children because their mothers work. There have been too many generalizations about

whether mothers should work and not enough evaluation of individual situations.

Much of the confusion regarding agency policy relating to the employment of mothers is due to the inability to state in specific terms which mothers should be encouraged to work and which discouraged from working. The agency cannot, nor should it, issue a directive advising staff which mothers should work and which should not. Directives, unfortunately, are desired by unskilled staff, for they feel protected under this umbrella of rigidity. A detailed directive which leaves little opportunity for the use of judgment and analysis by the social worker is in conflict with the principle of individualization of need. For example, let us consider some directives which an agency might consider releasing regarding policy concerning mothers' working.

Were the directive to state that mothers with one child should work, what if the one child were a sick child and the mother the person best able to care for him?

Were it to state that all mothers living with relatives should work, what if these relatives were bedridden or otherwise physically or emotionally unable to carry responsibility for children?

Were it to read that all mothers should be urged to work if they lived within walking distance of a licensed day nursery, what if the intake policy discriminated against youngsters of the ages specifically being considered or if the hours of the nursery's operation did not synchronize with the mother's workday?

Were the directive to state that all mothers with satisfactory work records prior to the birth of the child should be required to seek employment, what if the mother had been employed in an occupation for which she is now physically disqualified? Perhaps her previous employment required her to stand for long periods, but now she has varicose veins, which require her activity to be sedentary.

Were the directive to state that all mothers who were physically able to work should be encouraged to seek employment, how would

the agency meet the problem of the mother who is physically able to keep a job in industry but physically and/or emotionally unable to assume the dual responsibility of maintaining both the job and the home?

One finds, therefore, that it is not possible to measure the advisability of a mother's working by applying a rule related to any one factor, whether it be health, former occupation, availability of relatives, or arrangements for suitable care of the children. At best, social agencies may be able to offer staff some criteria as guides which emphasize the necessity of considering with the mother the emotional, physical, social, and cultural factors affecting her thinking about her decision to work. In the final analysis, the social worker will only be as effective as his ability to evaluate the functioning of the mother-child relationship, the expressed and suppressed motivations of the mother's search for financial security, and the impact of the community and cultural pressures as they affect her decision.

It is recognized that the primary factor to be considered in helping the mother decide whether she should work is the relationship between her and her child. The strengths and/or weaknesses of the relationship are not easily determined. It is recognized that there are many factors which determine the success or failure a woman experiences in motherhood and that each must be evaluated—not only the meaning the mother has to the child but also the meaning the child has to her.

Too often the relationship is evaluated by the manner in which a mother meets the physical needs of the child, by the crisply starched dresses on the little daughter, or the highly polished shoes on the son. However, the love for a child does not express itself in these criteria, or in the physical effort of producing snow-

white laundered diapers, or in the picking-up of toys. Such physical tasks can be accomplished by a person other than the mother without any jeopardy to the mother-child relationship, provided they are given with a quality of warmth and a positive emotional response to the child. It is possible for mothers to enjoy happy relationships with their children without meeting the daily responsibilities for their physical care. Many mothers are able to combine the responsibilities of motherhood and employment in such a way that positive values result in the mother-child relationship. Women happy in their responsibilities are able to transfer these feelings to their children.

It is recognized also that even mothers who do not work are not with their children every hour of the child's day. Our society encourages the development of interests outside the home, urges the participation of mothers in clubs, cultural and social. Such outside interests develop happier mothers, and this results in happier children. Society suffers when parents wear blinders and are completely "wrapped up in their children." However, although the number of hours spent by working mothers and those in community activity may be the same, the social worker should be aware that the censure of leaving children during the day is usually reserved for the working mother.

In addition to the evaluation of the mother-child relationship, there are other factors which are important to the social worker as he helps the mother think through her decision to work. The emotional and physical strain of leading "a double life" must be considered. In social agencies we help mothers whose salaries are seldom adequate to pay the cost of a homemaker. Thus, in addition to carrying the full responsibilities as an employee of industry, the mother will have

the physical toil of caring for a household.

The extent of this physical activity must be carefully reviewed. If the housekeeping standards of the mother make her a meticulous cleaner, a finicky cook, a laborious shopper, or a fastidious laundress, her problems in carrying two responsibilities will be different from those of the mother who is satisfied with "a lick and a promise" for the house, so that she can play with her children. The woman who for the first time has a job in industry requiring strenuous physical effort will have a problem in carrying her home responsibilities different from one who has always done heavy manual work.

The emotional strain on married working women, as well as on working mothers, in establishing satisfactory relationships with their employers is real. Often anxieties borne during the day deplete the energy which is needed when the working wife or mother returns home. Even those working wives and mothers who are relieved of the physical chores involved in homemaking are always aware of the emotional tensions of leading "a double life."

Another factor that must be considered is the working mother's feeling about the community's attitude toward her. She may feel defensive because she is working and, rather than risk the censure of neighbors should her children misbehave, curtail their normal activity. She may fear that, by working, she will be thought by the community to be disinterested in her children. Or she may feel that she should work because other mothers in her economic and social sphere work and because she should not be dependent on the taxpayer or private agency subscriber if she is physically able to work.

She may be a member of a cultural

group that considers it indecent for a woman to work outside her home. Or it may be that her cultural pattern accepts, condones, and even encourages the employment of mothers.

In evaluating these factors which relate to the culture and the community, the social worker must appreciate the depth of meaning the pressures of the mores of the group have to the mother. The stamp of approval or disapproval by members of the mother's family, cultural group, and community determines in good measure the mother's decision and adjustment to full- or part-time employment.

It is important for the social worker to understand why the mother is thinking about working. Is it because she is a rejecting mother who wishes to compensate for her feelings by bestowing material goods on her child? Is it because she believes that she will be a happier person if she has an opportunity to do a job she is trained to do? Is it because she would enjoy the response of approval of those around her when she works and also raises a family—enjoy the luxury of such comments as "the brave little woman"? Is she thinking about working solely because of economic need?

It is also necessary to consider why she thinks she should not work. She may be anxious about the arrangements for her children while she is employed. She may be fearful of their adjustment to a substitute mother-person. Will they resent her absence? What will happen if Johnny's nose is running and the nursery teacher thinks he ought to be sent home? What if Tom forgets his glasses and is unable to enter the house to get them? What if Alice gets hurt during the day? What if she or the children take ill and she cannot go to work? Who will pay the bills? What if, after a full day's work, she is too tired to keep her house clean, her chil-

dren's clothes immaculate? What will her relatives, her neighbors, and the children's teachers think of her?

In these considerations it has been presumed that the father is not in the home. If he is a member of the family, the mother's decision must be evaluated with full recognition of the need to maintain and protect the husband-wife and parent-child relationships, as well as the mother-child relationship. One of the most difficult decisions is that to be made by a mother who, through working, in effect takes on the father's role as the wage-earner for the family.

Also to be considered are the effects on the child of the mother's working. Does he feel he is an unloved child, and does the absence of the mother reinforce his feelings of not being wanted? Does he already feel he is "different" because he has no father, and does the absence of the mother add to his anxiety? Does he feel his activity is circumscribed because his mother works? These examples, as well as other problems which arise, may affect his relationship with his working mother. At the other extreme are the problems which would be better handled if his mother worked, particularly when his relationship with her is best described as his being consumed or overpowered by her.

In this discussion I have delayed mentioning the importance of suitable care for the children as it must first be determined whether a mother should work, these factors having to be considered before plans are reviewed for the children's care. Unless plans for suitable care for the children follow the determination that a mother should work because her needs and those of her children are best served, the parent-child relationship enhanced, and the community protected, we defeat the underlying purpose of our assistance programs. Much time could be spent here

in discussing criteria for suitable care. For our purpose we might consider that it is that arrangement which, to the mother's satisfaction, protects her relationship with her children and makes it possible for the mother to perform one job at a time, although it may never relieve her of the responsibility of either.

Too often agency policies are stated or interpreted so that the mother is advised to seek work primarily because there appears to be suitable care available for the children. Such an approach violates the principles which this paper supports, that is, that only a careful evaluation of all factors can determine whether a mother should work.

What does it mean to a mother to apply for assistance for herself and her family and to be advised by the application worker to seek employment? She had probably considered going to work before making application but decided against working at present because of problems she saw in her family's situation. She may be emotionally distressed at present because of the recent loss of her husband and is not ready to think about working. The response to the suggestion that she work will depend on her emotional needs and her relationship with her children. If she has feelings about her own inadequacy, symbolized to her by the need to apply for assistance, this response from the agency will make her more anxious. She may feel guilty about having applied and may withdraw her application, although it may not be to the best interests of her family. If she has negative feelings toward her children, this suggestion that she work may make her most hostile to them or more rejecting.

It seems to me that it is possible for the social worker to help the mother make her decision only after the mother's

total needs have been determined and that this evaluation is not possible until a good client-worker relationship has been established. Social agencies have a responsibility to meet the needs of the mother first as she sees them. In this instance it is the need for assistance for herself and her children. Then, as the relationship develops, exploration of the advisability of employment may be indicated.

It is questionable whether the intake department of a public assistance agency should explore the possibility of employment with the mother. Staff standards in these departments, as well as the emphasis on the legal requirements for determining eligibility, would not in many instances be conducive to the development of the kind of relationship which would bring about an understanding of the social needs of the mother and her children.

The social worker assigned to the mother must be capable of understanding her real needs. Dr. Josselyn's goals for the social worker are particularly pertinent in this area of service. She states:

The worker must be capable of understanding the needs of the client. He must be able to evaluate the difficulties the client presents and judge whether they are the result of voids in his past experience which can be filled at this late date, or whether the failure of the individual is related to early conflicts that must be resolved before he can accept the gratifications of reality. The caseworker must be able to evaluate the psychological positives and negatives in the environment in terms of the client, and not in terms of a distorted identification with the client. He must thus be able to see what the client needs, not what the worker would need in the same situation. His program must be the result of his understanding of the psychological dynamics involved in the problem and of the resources in reality which will therapeutically fit in with those dynamics.*

*Irene Josselyn, M.D., "The Caseworker as Therapist," *Journal of Social Casework* (November, 1948), p. 352.

However, it may be that the social worker is not able to establish a helping relationship because of his or her attitudes toward working mothers. These attitudes may have their roots in the social worker's feelings about persons who apply for assistance. He may be hostile to physically able mothers who seek assistance if there are jobs in the community. The worker may herself be a working mother and set the activity standards for other mothers on the basis of what she can accomplish. She may have been reared by a working mother and recall the two long hours each day between her return from school and her mother's return from work, as she sat in the house alone because of the mother's fear of her playing in the street while she was away. The worker may be affected by his recollection of years of financial deprivation when he and his mother lived on a small pension, his mother being "too proud" to go to work. The worker may believe that the Aid to Dependent Children Law is too broad in its philosophy to keep mothers home with their children and that it should apply only to those mothers who are physically unable to support themselves. It is important to the agency to be aware of the attitudes of its staff toward working mothers.

The social worker must look to the agency for a policy which states that mothers should not work because of economic need alone. The agency must stress with the community the necessity for adequate grants and services, so that no mother will work solely because she

cannot maintain her children in health and decency on the amount of authorized assistance.

The agency has a further responsibility to equip its workers with the skills and knowledge to understand what basic concepts are involved in helping a mother decide whether she should work. It must keep case loads at a tolerable level, so that workers have the time to be of maximum assistance to the mother. It must make available adequate supervision and good in-service training programs. It must make possible the opportunity for workers to be kept aware of the principles of behavior and personality development. It must work toward breaking down rigid responses of staff which defeat the intent of the social philosophy embodied in agency policy. And, above all, the agency has a responsibility for helping the community understand its goals—the maintenance of effective parent-child relationships which help to create the kind of social climate in which people can live happier and more satisfying lives.

In this area of helping mothers decide whether they should work is the optimum opportunity for the use of case-work skills. The determination of which mothers should work and which should not must be determined on an individual-case basis. The only generalization which can be made to the best interests of the public's welfare is that some mothers should work and some should not.

CHICAGO

SOPHONISBA PRESTON BRECKINRIDGE, SOCIAL PIONEER¹

KATHARINE F. LENROOT

IN 1930 Miss Breckinridge was one of the official delegates of the government of the United States to the Sixth Pan American Child Congress, held in Lima, Peru. By reason of the clarity of her thought and the grace of her personality, she was held in affectionate regard and admiration by all the delegates. The morning after the close of the Congress, the secretary-general, head of the Children's Institute of Peru, asked me to come to his office to meet the members of his staff. One of them he singled out with great pride, saying, "She is going to be the Sophonisba of Peru."

All of us here can recall many incidents in the life of our friend, many expressions of her selflessness, her integrity, her unflagging devotion to principle, her dry wit, and her gentle humor. I cherish a letter written in her own handwriting, in 1933, on the eve of her departure to Montevideo, where she served as the first woman delegate of her country to a conference of American states. She wrote: "Dear Miss Lenroot, I really could not go if I did not feel that perhaps you would like it." But such memories will endure throughout our lives—and spur us on to greater effort in behalf of the ideas and principles she held so high. Today, as she would have wished, we must think not of the past but of the future and of the message of Miss Breckinridge's life in relation to our own present responsibilities, objectives, and commitments and to those of our younger colleagues.

¹ A paper read at a memorial service.

Her life was devoted primarily to the preparation of young people for social work. It seems appropriate to consider, in the words of the Peruvian official, what qualities we would look for in a young woman today just entering her professional work that might entitle her to be called the "Sophonisba" of her epoch.

The first characteristic that comes to mind was Miss Breckinridge's deep compassion for human suffering and the great sympathy with which she touched the lives of other people. Compassion must continue to be an earmark of the true social worker.

I remember a cold, rainy evening in Havana in 1927, when she and I were attending the Fifth Pan American Child Congress. We were returning to our hotel from dinner and passed a mother and two small children sleeping in an open area-way—not an uncommon sight in the Havana of those days. Neither Miss Breckinridge nor I then spoke or understood much Spanish, but we first tried to talk to the woman and then to enlist the help of a traffic officer on the next corner, who was puzzled indeed that American tourists, as he thought us, should be concerned about this little family group. Still Miss Breckinridge was not satisfied that we had done all we could. We must locate a social agency by telephone. It was only when we finally secured a promise of assistance for the mother and her children that Miss Breckinridge could let the matter rest.

The early studies of child life in Chica-

go made by Miss Breckinridge and her associates and students, notably *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, and later her papers published in the *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work dealing with the children of depression are full of compassionate understanding and resolve that something should be done to prevent and relieve such wretchedness. Her compassion was the stimulus which led directly to statesman-like planning of social programs. In a paper presented to the Conference in 1932, Miss Breckinridge said: "If we come out of the depression with a truly national program of adequate relief and skilful service, a truly national insurance of child care and child welfare in which State, locality, and private benevolence participate, we shall have wrung something infinitely precious from the experience. We should have been able and wise enough to do this without any depression; but we had set our hand to a very difficult task—that of making the community, the whole nation, safe for childhood."

The second characteristic was Miss Breckinridge's scientific spirit, her instinct for research, her regard for the truth revealed by research, and the respect she had for her own insights and convictions based upon the knowledge revealed through scientific inquiry.

In a delightful paper given at the 1931 National Conference of Social Work on "Research and the Family Society," Miss Breckinridge said: "To know what it is important to know, to have self-respect and know when you know, to use, wherever possible, experimental methods that leave a residue of additional knowledge and a piece of successful social administration, these are the right of every agency in enlarging the body of fact and experience and, therefore, the confidence

with which the program for work is developed."

The scientific spirit must be companioned by courage to go wherever the paths of research may lead. In 1930 Miss Breckinridge said that "a little child shall lead them" was "a promise whose fulfillment is the frequent experience of the social worker. The promise takes a shape, however, quite different from that portrayed by the artist in the painting with which we are all familiar, in which the lion and the lamb and other companions quite as incongruous are guided by the radiant figure of the Holy Child toward the beatific vision. The social worker or the social reformer taking the hand of the child will find herself conducted into every condition of disorganization, of unorganized social provision, of degradation and maladjustment that is to be found in social, political, and economic life."

Miss Breckinridge brought to social work a mind well disciplined in a broad range of social sciences. We are now placing renewed emphasis on the importance of bringing to bear upon social problems, and especially on the growth and development of children, the insights and discoveries of many different fields of science and practice. This was Miss Breckinridge's approach to social work. In a recent (September, 1948) *Social Service Review* the editor said of her friend and colleague: "She began her work at the University of Chicago in political science, economics, and law; but she joined in 1906 with Julia Lathrop and Graham Taylor in building a school for education in the field that they called 'civics and philanthropy.' At that time she left her former studies and brought the old disciplines of the finest scholarship to the service of a new profession."

The "team approach" to human prob-

lems is being emphasized today by many leaders in various fields of social science. It was the approach that Julia Lathrop, Miss Breckinridge, Judge Mack, and Dr. Healy saw as necessary in the early stages of the juvenile court movement and that later found expression in the Federal Children's Bureau and the child guidance clinic movement. Miss Breckinridge was particularly interested in bringing law into close association with social service and other professions. In her paper on "Research and the Family Society," already referred to, Miss Breckinridge speaks of the need for "better understanding between social workers and lawyers as to the relative importance of legitimacy and of true social relationships. . . ." Her contributions to juvenile court and mothers' pension laws and their administration and, above all, her interest in bringing the resources of social service to bear upon the problems of child guardianship are among the most important aspects of her professional life, which are matched only by her scholarly research in public welfare administration and her leadership in professional education for social work.

Miss Breckinridge, herself trained in the law, understood both the important place of the law in child protection and the patience required to obtain changes in substantive law and its administration. This characteristic of patience is one of the earmarks of the social statesman. In a paper on "The Family and the Law," given at the National Conference of Social Work in 1925, Miss Breckinridge spoke of the "increasing consciousness that from the law alone can come protection from extreme cases of departure from the general code of practice and from the common modes of thought." She added:

If the progress seems often incredibly unendurably slow, the social worker must pray the

prayer of the poet, to be filled with a "passion of patience," and again recall the word of the prophet that "he that believeth will not make haste." What the social worker is attempting to do through the new formulation of the law is what the Master did when he "set a child in the midst of them," and if the father asks, as in Galsworthy's tale, paraphrasing the words of the parable, Can a man not do what he will with his own? to point through the new devices that he was never more than trustee holding title for the equitable owner, the true beneficiary—the community—who is now in a position to demand an accounting.

Miss Breckinridge's preoccupation with the child is clearly evident in many of her writings. She rightly found in the child the hope and the test of democracy. In a democratic concept of social organization, man does not exist for the state but the state for man, and this is preeminently true of childhood. I have referred before to Miss Breckinridge's statement of a principle² which we should constantly keep in mind: "By the time such legislation was regarded as necessary in the South, the right of all children to childhood rather than the right of the State to an educated citizenship had been clearly enunciated and the claim for such protection therefore firmly established on that basis." I have also referred in an earlier paper to the fact that Miss Breckinridge was one of the group which recommended Julia Lathrop's appointment as first chief of the Children's Bureau, and she also helped to persuade Grace Abbott to join Miss Lathrop at the Bureau and to assume responsibility in 1917-18 for administering the pioneer Federal Child Labor Law, and later to follow as Miss Lathrop's successor. Miss Breckinridge made major contributions to the Bureau's first studies in social legislation. Throughout its entire history the Children's Bureau's index of correspondence has had many entries for Miss

² Published in the *Survey* for October 21, 1911.

Breckinridge, and she served on important advisory committees and in three White House conferences. Her sense of the imperatives which insight into the possibilities of social advance places upon the individual was well expressed in a paper on "Family Budgets" given at what has now come to be known as the 1919 White House Conference when she pointed out that "with wider knowledge and greater exactness of estimates" would come a wider demand that "we judge our common life by our conduct rather than by our professions." She referred to the Chicago's committee's attempt to find a level "below which no one should be allowed to fall" and the importance of giving everyone the opportunity of remaining on or above that level, "including in the program the native born, both white and black, and foreign born"—this she thought was a possible goal. And she believed that when the possibility had been seen "we could 'do no other' than seek it as a matter of national honor."

I have referred before to Miss Breckinridge's work in the difficult field of child guardianship, the subject of a recent study of the Children's Bureau which was the long-delayed fruit of Miss Breckinridge's insistence that this field must receive national consideration. Whatever may be worked out as a result of this study in the way of recommendations and standards for the more effective discharge of the responsibility of the state in relation to the guardianship of children will owe its stimulus and inspiration to Miss Breckinridge.

Miss Breckinridge's philosophy of social work, rooted as it was in legal principles and recognition of the universal nature of social justice, early led her, and the others in the Chicago group, to a conviction that public service, not only through institutions but in communities,

was imperative and that the greatest challenge to social work was its improvement and extension. In her Introduction to her monumental work on Public Welfare Administration, published in 1927, Miss Breckinridge said: "The subject is important to social workers because the development of honest, competent, skilful agencies, adequately financed, and staffed with a personnel sufficient both in number and in professional equipment, is basic to sound social work."

She then listed the situations indicating the need for public services, including those in which the compulsory power of the state must be exercised, those in which the cost of comprehensive work is too great for private agencies to carry, those in which the relatively sparse population brings it about that government is substantially the only agency available for social work. She added in this same book, written eight years before the passage of the Social Security Act:

Theoretically, the preference of the social worker would probably be for public rather than private service, wherever there is a well-recognized need and a reasonably widely accepted method of meeting that need. For the social worker can be satisfied with nothing less than a universal provision for a continuous service.

Her deep insight into the necessity for universal concern and universal service led to her early and continuing interest in international affairs. Whether in Geneva, in Paris, or in South America, Miss Breckinridge brought to bear on international deliberations her conviction of regard for the individual and the reciprocal rights and obligations of society toward the citizen and the citizen toward society that characterized her lifework in her own country. Her international interests and friendships were deepened by her historical scholarship and her appreciation of the continuity and the un-

folding of the social process, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

Alfred North Whitehead used the title *Adventures of Ideas* for his study of the growth of the idea of freedom in Western civilization. Miss Breckinridge's spirit acknowledged no boundaries in the adventure of searching for truth. In her paper on "New Horizons of Professional Education for Social Work," given at the 1936 National Conference, she spoke of an "essential feature of professional activity" as being "its consciousness of being near the border of the unknown and the constant pressure by experimentation and critical evaluation to push back those boundaries. . . . The development of this habit of thought and practice," she said, "is a responsibility of the graduate professional school, of whose program research and publication should be constant and conspicuous features."

She was always eager to reply promptly to any request for help, but she was quick to express a genuine surprise that anyone thought she could help, for she was always sure that others knew and could do better. Her well-known habit of

understating her own contributions matched the brilliance of her scholarship and the depth of her understanding. I have written before about her long-time interest in the Children's Bureau and her constant willingness to serve in behalf of the Bureau. And I would like to close these recollections of our friend with the words of the Hammonds concerning another great social pioneer, Lord Shaftesbury:

The devil, with sad and sober sense on his grey face, tells the rulers of the world that the misery which disfigures the life of great societies is beyond the reach of human remedy. A voice is raised from time to time in answer; a challenge in the name of the mercy of God, of the justice of nature, of the dignity of man. Shaftesbury was such a voice. To the law of indifference and drift, taught by philosophers and accepted by politicians, he opposed the simple revelation of his Christian conscience. This was his service to England; not the service of a statesman with wide plan and commanding will, but the services of a prophet speaking truth to power in its selfishness and sloth. When silence falls on such a voice, some everlasting echo still haunts the world, to break its sleep of habit or despair.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
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NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

SOPHONISBA PRESTON BRECKINRIDGE

A SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT

SO MUCH appreciation has been expressed by the readers of this *Review* about the articles in the last number which attempted to tell the story of Miss Breckinridge's work that we are adding some material about her. First, there is an address which Miss Lenroot of the United States Children's Bureau delivered at a large memorial meeting in Mandel Hall; then we are adding here an article by a Wellesley classmate which appeared in the *Wellesley Magazine*. Finally, there are some resolutions passed by the American Association of Schools of Social Work, of which she had been president, and a statement which was read before the Illinois Welfare Conference, of which she had twice been president. Many letters from old students and friends continue to come in. Walter Pettit, a long-time friend, who was the director of the New York School of Social Work and who had been asked to speak at the memorial meeting with Miss Lenroot, wired and wrote from Guatemala City of his regret that he could not return for the meeting. Mr. Pettit wrote of "the great devotion I have had for years for Miss Breckinridge" and added, "I shall be thinking of you on Tuesday and hoping that those who attend the service may again capture some of the great vitality, warmth and devotion of our beloved friend. Were I able to be with you, I think that I should emphasize this remarkable spirit which always impressed me. Her intellectual ability, her great capacity for work, are qualities which will make her contribution to the profession remembered. We, however, who were privileged to know her will during our lifetimes recall that delightful personality, a strong identification on her part with the aspirations, successes, and failures of those with whom she came in contact, an unusual ability to make her friends feel that their interests and their problems were vital to her.

"Moreover I have always admired her breadth of interests. While devoted to social work as a profession, she seemed to me to have interests in a great variety of fields. I have a treasured picture of Jefferson she found in her former home and sent me. At another time there came a volume with an account of the Trappist Monastery in Kentucky in which she was interested. To me she was always a symbol of the wide interests on which I should like to see all professional training based.

"Again may I express my appreciation to you both for the invitation and my real sorrow in not being able to accept."

The article in the *Wellesley Magazine* was written by her old friend and classmate May Estelle Cook, of Oak Park, Illinois, and, since this presents a picture of Miss Breckinridge that will be new to many of us, we are grateful for permission to reprint it. The article from the *Wellesley Magazine* follows:

The name of Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge suggests what was true of her, that she was a personification of American aristocracy. She used to say that Sophonisba meant "keeper of her husband's secrets." A broader translation would be "a woman who conserves wisdom." Breckinridge means "a fern on a mountain" and connotes many of her qualities, among them delicacy, endurance, and eminence. On her mother's side a descendant of Patrick Henry, she had the great gift of eloquence, not of the oratorical kind, which she avoided, but readiness and precision of expression which met the requirement of everyday use as well as of public speaking. On her father's side she belonged to the family of John Breckinridge, who was Jefferson's secretary of state, and of John C. Breckinridge, who was a vice-president [1857-61], and she inherited patriotic fervor and interest in public affairs.

She was born in Lexington, Kentucky, in

1866. There was a sister older, two brothers, and a sister younger. They all had marked individuality, and the family life was exciting and often rather turbulent. Nisba was loyal to all her kin, and in later years managed to give a college education to each of her nephews and nieces. As a girl she was full of vitality, a leader in the gayeties of young people, and especially fond of horses, horse-back riding, and races. In her mature years she took few vacations; but when she went for a brief visit to Lexington she usually attended a race or two and, if her namesake, the Naughty Nisba, her brother's horse, came in a winner, she was frankly elated.

When she entered Wellesley in 1884, her father was in Congress and the family lived in Washington. Remember, that was thirty-six years before women won the vote and lost their awe of Congressmen. So to be the daughter of a Congressman then was a great distinction. Her appearance, too, was a distinction—her slender face with its fine aristocratic features, her wonderful dark eyes that emphasized her pallor, her crown of dark hair. Her Southern accent, which fortunately she never quite lost, was another charm. Besides, she was, so to speak inured to Washington society and had an ease and grace of manner which was a revelation to most of her college mates. For as a group—and there were only four hundred of us—we were precious unsophisticates in the ways of the world's great. She was not self-conscious either or the least bit snobbish, but as casual and democratic as the rest of us. And she had not only a sense of humor but keen Southern wit. Not strange, then, that she had scarcely entered the portals of Wellesley before she had won the admiration of both faculty and students. And, of course, she was Freshman President of her class, 1888.

We soon learned, moreover, that she was the most brilliant student in the class. There were several other notables in our class of higher than average scholarship, but no one else grasped the essentials of a subject so quickly as she or expressed herself with as much clarity and accuracy. A tremendous worker she took top rank in every class she was in. Never any sighs over mathematics! And incidentally her work in senior mathematics laid the foundation for an enduring and very beautiful friendship with Miss Shafer, who followed Alice Freeman as president of Wellesley. We had no honors in Wellesley then and did not know our marks. But later when honors were allowed, and Phi Beta Kappa was made retroactive, Nisba was

one of the few to whom that honor was awarded.

Like many other alumnae who do not know exactly what they want to undertake after college, she found the first few years after graduation the hardest of her life. She taught in a Washington high school long enough to learn that that was not the career for her. When her mother died, she took over the management of the household through a very difficult time. Then the family returned to Lexington, and she decided to study law. She always said that she "had the greatest respect for the power of a woman's tears," for it was her own tears that finally overcame her father's and brothers' objection to her becoming a lawyer. She reveled in the study and was the first woman admitted to the bar in Kentucky. But the way to a successful practice did not open, and for the first time she felt baffled and discouraged.

Then at the suggestion of a classmate she went to Chicago and accepted a position as secretary to Marion Talbot, Dean of Women at the University of Chicago. In due time she won her doctorate *summa cum laude* in political science. Soon afterward President Harper created a Department of Household Administration, made Miss Talbot the head and appointed Miss Breckinridge as assistant professor. It was not the work for which she was best fitted, but she broadened the department by offering courses on the legal aspects of the household, on public institutional management, on the public care of children, and the material she gathered all helped her to write her books *Public Welfare Administration* and *The Family and the State*.

With that work well in hand she entered the Law School of the University and at once found an able advocate in the head of the Law School. For when some of the men students asked him to bar women from the school, his reply was, "Perhaps,—if at the end of the quarter any one of you will show me a record as good as Miss Breckinridge's." And that was the end of that.

With her J.D. degree she won another *summa*. Then with all her work she began teaching classes in the School of Civics and Philanthropy in downtown Chicago. It soon became evident to her that the school would be more effective if it were part of the University, and she undertook to raise the necessary funds. For months she spent all her leisure time—or borrowed time, for she never had leisure—"sitting on the doorsteps of the rich," and finally secured enough money to finance a new department for five years. In so doing she accomplished her



AN EARLY PHOTOGRAPH ABOUT 1900



MISS BRECKINRIDGE IN HER OFFICE ABOUT 1940

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greatest work, the creation of the School of Social Service Administration, which is one of the graduate professional schools of the University. She received many honors, such as being sent by President Hoover as a delegate to the Pan American Child Conference at Lima, Peru, and by President Roosevelt to an International Conference at Montevideo. But always her first interest was in the School of Social Service Administration, which became one of the best in the world. To it came all manner of students, young and old, men and women, tired social workers and fresh young daughters of the rich. To her classes she brought the fine equipment of her work in political science, law, and social service, and to them she gave her last full measure of devotion. Chiefly for them she wrote her books, but it was her personal influence that counted most, and her kindnesses to many of them, of which none but the recipients had knowledge.

How could such a frail person do so much! Her strength was like that in the filament of an electric light, tenuous, but brilliantly resistant. Most of her studying she did late at night, when, as she said, "the world was quiet and I could concentrate."

The "Breckinridge Family Papers," numbering some seven hundred large volumes and covering the period from 1752 to the present time, she gave to the Library of Congress. She hoped to edit them and to write a family history, many episodes of which she said would make a movie thriller. After that she was to write her autobiography, but her strength failed too soon. We are all the losers because her autobiography was not written, but the story of her work is being written and lived, and will continue to be written and lived, by hundreds of her students who lighted the lamps of their service at the flame of her spirit.

MAY ESTELLE COOK

The resolutions passed by the American Association of Schools of Social Work at its last annual meeting in January, 1949, were as follows:

WHEREAS, Death has removed from us our distinguished colleague, Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge, who was one of a remarkable group of pioneers in Chicago, including Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelley, Grace Abbott, Ernst Freund, and others who have given much to the development of social work, and

WHEREAS, In her capacity of social work teacher and research worker, Miss Breckinridge pioneered in demonstrating the importance of public welfare work, the value of a sense of history and of establishing structure and functions on the basis of the study of past experience, the importance of adapting law to meet the changing problems of the present, and the necessity of providing a substantial literature including text materials for students; and she not only pointed out these needs but contributed substantially to meeting them; and

WHEREAS, During her long service as faculty member and dean of one of the early schools of social work (the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy), and as faculty member of its successor (the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago), and as President of the American Association of Schools of Social Work from 1933 to 1935 she emphasized the importance of insisting on a high order of intellectual qualifications in the social worker and the need of organizing to provide education for the field through graduate professional schools of social work in universities; and

WHEREAS, She was a helpful adviser in welfare matters to many laymen, administrators, and practitioners in connection with the local, state, and federal levels of government in this country as well as to individuals and officials in other nations, and

WHEREAS, Her influence has not only been felt in public welfare, child welfare, immigration, social hygiene, and housing but also in the law, household management, undergraduate education in the liberal arts, international peace, women's rights, and civil rights; and

WHEREAS, In all these activities and relationships she showed a high order of intellectual keenness, curiosity, imagination, courage—the boldness of the reformer combined with the caution of the scholar—along with good humor, consideration for others, and friendliness, *Therefore Be It*

Resolved, That the American Association of Schools of Social Work record its admiration and appreciation of Miss Breckinridge as one who through her own performance and the work of her students, both in research and practice, has profoundly affected the development of social work and social work education; and that the Association record its recognition of the unique combination of qualities which she

brought to the important activities in which she participated, its pride in her long and distinguished career, and its feeling of loss in her passing.

The statement read before the Illinois State Welfare Conference at its annual meeting in November, 1948, was as follows:

A great humanitarian and educator was lost to social work when Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge died at her home in Chicago on July 30 of this year. She was a moving spirit, not only in Illinois but in the nation, in the advancement of social legislation and of social work education.

The first woman to be admitted to the Kentucky bar, she brought a brilliant and trained mind to the development of a new profession. She took her Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago and joined its faculty in 1902. With Julia Lathrop and Graham Taylor she established the pioneer Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and later in 1920 she was responsible for its incorporation into the University of Chicago as its School of Social Service Administration.

Many who today are leaders in social work were her students and acquired from her an abiding respect for scholarship and for professional integrity. She recognized the educational needs of our profession and outlined a curriculum that is still basic in education for social work. She taught the first course in case work on the Chicago campus, using some outside lecturers in an effort to show that the subject of case work could be adapted to academic classes. For at that time it was generally believed that case work could not be adapted for formal teaching. Miss Breckinridge also developed public welfare courses that have since been adopted in all the professional schools of social work. Some of her most important books such as *Family Welfare Work in a Metropolitan Community*; *Public Welfare Administration*; *Social Work and the Courts*; *The Family and the State*; and *The Administration of the Poor Law in Illinois* have been widely used.

Today tax-supported social services of all kinds are widely accepted and even demanded. We sometimes forget that this acceptance has come about only after decades of research, interpretation, and courageous effort by leaders of vision and courage who were willing to fight against great odds.

The public social services have never had a more inspirational creator, a more devoted

friend, a more constructive critic, nor a more valiant defender than Miss Breckinridge.

She was a prime mover in the support of mothers' aid—later A.D.C.—and juvenile courts; and she was largely responsible for establishing social services in the courts and social service in the mental hospitals.

She was closely associated with Jane Addams at Hull House, where she spent a part of each year from 1907 to 1921. It was in these years that she was prominently identified with early movements in the fields of labor, immigration, woman's suffrage, and peace. It was perhaps because of her interest in legal and governmental matters that she was the first woman to represent her country officially in an international conference when she went as a delegate to the Lima Conference in Peru in 1930 and to the Pan American Conference on legal, economic, and social affairs in Montevideo in 1933.

Miss Breckinridge earnestly sought the development of professional organization and became a charter member of the Chicago Branch of the American Association of Social Workers. She gave generously of her time for two years when she served as chairman of the Chicago Chapter of that Association. For over forty years she was a member of the National Conference of Social Work, serving as chairman of many of its committees. She was president of the American Association of Schools of Social Work in 1933-35. She was twice president of the Illinois Welfare Association and later was among the first to receive its award in recognition of her outstanding contribution in the field of public welfare. She gave yeoman service in that field, defended it from criticism, protected its standards, and was like a bulwark to an administration when agencies and programs were under attack. Many here will remember that at the time Miss Breckinridge accepted the award she expressed her faith in the members of this organization and passed on to them the responsibility for carrying on the work which she knew could not be finished even in the long future.

MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN

IN APRIL, 1948, President Truman proposed to the Federal Security Administrator that an Interdepartmental Committee be formed to co-operate with the National Commission on Children and Youth in

laying the groundwork for the 1950 White House Conference on Children. The President's letter said:

I suggest that the Interdepartmental Committee, when formed, assist the Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency, in co-operation with the National Commission on Children and Youth, and other appropriate National, State, and local organizations in laying the groundwork for the 1950 White House Conference on Children.

The Interdepartmental Committee was named and on May 27, 1948, had its first meeting. It immediately selected a subcommittee to work co-operatively with the subcommittee on the National Commission in formulating plans for the Midcentury Conference on Children.

The two subcommittees met in joint session as a Joint Interim Committee and selected officers as follows: chairman, Dr. Willard E. Givens, executive secretary of the National Education Association; vice-chairman, Miss Beatrice McConnell, chief of the Division of Federal-State Co-operation, Bureau of Labor Standards; and secretary, Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau. At this time the areas for immediate attention and action which were outlined by the director of planning included the provision of Children's Bureau staff for White House Conference planning with particular attention to (1) services to state planning bodies, (2) development of a research program which will include a two-way flow of factual information from and to states and the White House Conference staff, and (3) the general involvement of an increasing number of lay citizens and youth in serious consideration of the most important social needs of children.

More recently at its meeting in February, 1949, the National Commission on Children and Youth again urged that planning for the midcentury conference should be made a subject of discussion among local as well as state and national groups. There seems now to be no question that such a conference will be held, and organization for the necessary preparatory work will be soon under way.

Congress has appropriated \$75,000 to the Children's Bureau for preliminary work for the conference. The National Commission named a subcommittee on White House Conference Planning. The Commission recommended that two years of preliminary work precede the conference. This work is now gaining momentum in states and communities throughout the country.

National planning is being carried on by a committee representing federal agencies serving children and youth and the National Commission on Children and Youth. In thirty-two states commissions or committees on children are sponsoring the preliminary activity for the conference. Similar local planning groups are responsible for action in communities.

Represented in these national, state, and community groups are both professional and lay groups. Voluntary organizations, official agencies, civic, labor, and farm groups, business and industry, are looking at what is happening to children in their communities and uniting upon specific objectives which they believe they can accomplish by 1950.

Supplementing this action and fact-finding, a program of research under direction of the Children's Bureau will gather together the findings of experts in all areas of child growth and development and services to children and youth. This will be augmented by advice and guidance from a group of national leaders from many fields who will help to shape the broad objectives of the conference.

To anyone who asks why a conference should be held in 1950, the reply is that this will give the nation a chance to take a look at what children need for wholesome growth and development, how many of them are getting the opportunities they need, and what the nation's goals for children should be for the decade ahead. Various arguments were offered in support of the midcentury conference:

1950, the halfway mark of the century, after two world wars and a major depression—is a logical time to take stock of children and the nation's efforts and resources in serving them.

The world in which today's children are growing up is in an upheaval of change, social, political, economic, and scientific. Great new influences—such as the radio, motion pictures, comics—and new inventions, are affecting their environment. These new forces and the changes taking place need to be examined for their effects upon children.

The past fifty years have seen more developments affecting the health, education, and welfare of children in this country than any other fifty years in history. But the benefits from the advances are inequitably distributed. Far more is known than is applied. In this critical time it is vital to measure the gains and the gaps so as to improve the score for all children.

Many millions of children the world over have been the victims of war, destroyed, orphaned, maimed, starved, tortured, undernourished. American children, though suffering less than those in other lands, have not escaped. They have experienced family tensions and anxiety, separations, shifting homes. They have felt the repercussions of violence and cruelty of history's most disastrous war and been subject to the after-effects of general upheaval. These effects need to be evaluated.

New directions are needed. Progress in human relations lags far behind progress in the physical sciences. New ways of assuring greater happiness, security, and peace to people must be found. Focussing on the physical, emotional, mental, and social growth of children, on their relationships in families, in communities, in the Nation, and the world can help lay the foundation for better understanding of all human relationships.

A small staff, financed by a congressional appropriation and attached to the United States Children's Bureau, is in process of organization to assist communities, states, and national organizations in their preparation for the 1950 conference.

Goals for the conference will take shape out of a broad pooling of ideas of many persons in varied fields of experience. Young people themselves will have an opportunity to voice their opinions and make their contribution to planning. Until an official committee, responsible for the Midcentury White House Conference, is appointed by the President, all activities are of an exploratory and preparatory nature.

A White House Conference on Children should bring new energy and hope, not only in the people who attend it, but in people throughout the nation. Through the cooperative efforts of national, state, and local groups, hundreds of citizens of widely varied experience will have a share in the preparatory work in the next two years. From this wealth of local action the conference will draw much of its vitality. It will represent the mobilization of all available resources in behalf of children.

I.R.O. AND THE MISSING CHILDREN

A LITTLE more than a year ago the International Refugee Organization took over the U.N.R.R.A. tracing bureau and made a small town in northern Germany the headquarters of Child Search. Child Search is now said to have "flung a gigantic net across Europe to locate the tens of thousands of children lost or stolen by the Nazi horror machine. Its sleuths have probed into every corner and archive of Nazidom." The officials of the Child Search organization are now convinced, after a year's study of adoption records, children's institutions, and foster-homes throughout Germany, that they have probably located all the missing children that can ever be found. The work of Child Search is to go on for another year, and the entire appropriation of \$500,000 will be used during this time and the tracing bureau will then be closed. A recent report in the *New York Times* is as follows:

This branch of the International Tracing Service of I.R.O. had at last reports turned up 641 children sought by their parents and located 1,478 relatives of children picked up in the drag-net. It has compiled a card index of 46,000 names and a file containing every scrap of information known about missing children.

Child Search has had to deal with a Nazi program whose existence was not even suspected at the war's end. Then it was assumed that the lost children of Europe had been set footloose by the accidents of war. Gradually the discovery and analysis of documents led to the revelation of a mass kidnapping system directed by Heinrich Himmler and the SS.

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Poland, had been systematically plundered of their youth, who were sent back to an agency called Lebensborn. There . . . Lebensborn had "scientifically" selected the "racially desirable" and had then provided them with new names and new birth certificates and farmed them out for "Germanization" to foster homes and institutions. The undesirable were exterminated.

The extent of this program can be seen in the fact that Poland asserts 100,000 of her youth are still missing. For a variety of reasons, tracking down even a fair percentage of these kidnap victims is almost impossible.

Many foster parents, reluctant to lose a good worker who costs little or nothing, conceal the presence of a displaced youngster. Directors of institutions also are loath to hand over non-German children for fear of being regarded as Nazis. The greatest obstacle, however, is the obliteration of the children's real names and the Nazis' careful destruction of most of the secret documents recording these data.

The men and women of Child Search consider 15,000 of their file cases as "active." Untold thousands of the cards will receive the final notation: "Not Found." But Child Search also knows that a good many of those whose names are on these cards have long been dead.

THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

A LARGE number of representatives of business, labor, farm, civic, women's, and professional organizations, and government officials met for the third annual conference of the National Commission on Children and Youth, which was held in Washington on February 3 and 4, 1949. The Commission meets once a year to consult with the Children's Bureau and representatives of other federal agencies on nation-wide issues affecting family life and children.

National proposals to advance the well-being of the children that were considered at this last conference related to family incomes, housing, health services and medical care, guidance and placement services for children, educational opportunities, recreational facilities and services, and legal safeguards for children.

At the opening session on February 3 Dr. George Stoddard, president of the University of Illinois, spoke on "The World for

Which Children Must Be Prepared," and Miss Katharine Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau, discussed important nationwide issues affecting children. At a dinner meeting the speakers on prospects for national action were Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah, chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; Mrs. Chase Goring Woodhouse, Representative from Connecticut; Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Representative from Ohio; and Mr. J. Donald Kingsley, Assistant Federal Security Administrator.

The final session, on the afternoon of February 4, was devoted largely to the reports of the section held during the conference. One of the reports dealt with suggestions to be made to the President in connection with calling the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth.

The Commission plays an important part in developing a meeting of minds year in and year out between citizens, professional groups, and government officials on gains that should be made for children and youth.

A NATIONAL CHILD RESEARCH INSTITUTE

THE organization of a clearing-house of current research in child life had a small beginning late last summer with the appointment of Dr. Clara E. Councell to the staff of the United States Children's Bureau, with Dr. Councell to be responsible for setting up and directing the clearing-house as an aid to professional people in the exchange of information on research.

In announcing the appointment of Dr. Councell, Dr. Martha M. Eliot, the associate chief of the Bureau, said that the clearing-house was being developed in response to recommendations of professional organizations and advisory committees to the Bureau, primarily to aid research workers and organizations in keeping abreast with research in progress.

"Research in the social, cultural, psychological, and physical aspects of child growth and development, in cultural patterns affecting family life, and in the devel-

opment of health and welfare services for children, is now going on in many universities, schools, and centers throughout the country," Dr. Eliot said, "but until now there has been no one place where a research worker can find out what other people are doing in the same field or in fields related to this work."

Many projects require months and even years before they are completed and before the published findings become generally available. Meantime, work on one project might be modified and made more effective if research workers knew about others going on at the same time in related fields. The Children's Bureau clearing-house, it is hoped, will provide a systematic way of keeping professional research workers informed on current projects as they are planned and as they develop. It should also tend to stimulate more research in child life, particularly in some specialized fields where it is lagging or lacking altogether.

Later, the American Parents Committee urged plans, the *New York Times* reported, for a National Child Research Institute in the Children's Bureau, with an initial \$5,000,000 annual authorization.

Simultaneously Dr. Martha Eliot described the careful preparation from the standpoint of the "whole child" which has gone into the Bureau's planning for a possible research program.

The bill drafted under the auspices of the Parents Committee would set up a basic research program in the Children's Bureau itself; would make available for grants-in-aid for child research in the states; would set up a clearing-house in the Bureau for reporting to all researchers on all research in progress; and would provide for dissemination of the information gained by child research.

These provisions would carry out the principal recommendations which have been made to the Children's Bureau by groups of experts who have been working since last November on the problem of how to get more basic research on the subject of the development of children—their physical growth, social adaptation and emotional development.

"We especially need research which brings different observers together to look at growing

children from all points of view," said Dr. Eliot. "So in our conferences on research we have taken the multi-professional approach."

Such a conference, she said, would include one or two pediatricians, a social worker, a psychiatrist, a sociologist, and an anthropologist.

Recently the National Commission on Children and Youth has urged the establishment of such an institute in the Children's Bureau, and there is hope that such a plan may be carried through.

U.N.I.C.E.F.

THE United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund has recently issued a newsletter which is a report on the activities of the Children's Fund in different parts of the world—in the countries that are contributing supplies to the Fund and in those that are receiving help for their children. In an attempt to acquaint people generally with the work of the Fund—a work in which many have a part through their own voluntary contributions, as well as through the contributions of the governments—the report is intended also for those who have an active part, either as officials or as volunteer workers, in getting this help to the children. Some extracts from this recent newsletter seem of special interest:

In Europe, for the second winter, the Fund is helping to provide a daily supplementary meal for some four million children in twelve countries: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. For the first time it is also providing raw materials for manufacture into clothing, diapers, shoes and institutional supplies. And it is getting aid to German children—cod-liver oil for a million of them every day this winter and wool and cotton for underwear and leather for shoes for a quarter of a million.

In the Middle East 350,000 mothers and children among the Arab and Jewish refugees now look to the Children's Fund for a nourishing meal each day. Blankets and other supplies have also been provided.

In Asia UNICEF missions are in China, both in government- and nongovernment-controlled areas, and feeding has begun in seven cities:

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Canton, Hankow, Nanking, Peiping, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Tsingtao. A mission is also in Manila, headquarters for UNICEF operations in India, Pakistan and Ceylon; Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia, Siam and the Philippines; and Hongkong, Singapore and other British territories.

Besides these country-by-country programs, the Fund, in co-operation with the World Health Organization, is engaged in several large-scale health projects. The largest of these is the International Tuberculosis Campaign, or BCG anti-tuberculosis program, carried on with the Danish Red Cross and its Scandinavian associates. Already nearly 5,500,000 European children have been examined, and of that number 2,000,000 vaccinated, and each day additional thousands are given this protection. This campaign is being extended to countries outside Europe: Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia; Egypt and Lebanon; Mexico; India, Pakistan and Ceylon; China, and other countries of the Far East.

[Since the Fund was organized after action by] the General Assembly of the United Nations two years ago, on December 11, 1946, the Fund has received in contributions and pledges a total of \$110,000,000. Twenty-seven governments have contributed or pledged \$70,000,000; nearly \$30,000,000 has come from the residual assets of UNRRA. The remainder represents voluntary contributions, including money from the United Nations Appeal for Children.

However, it is important to be reminded that of the \$110,000,000 so far received from all sources, only a small part has not been spent, or counted out, for programs in operation. And when compared with what needs to be done for children, the U.N.I.C.E.F. resources are very small, and only a fraction of the children in dire need can be reached. This necessary work represents an international effort on behalf of children and is being carried out not only by U.N.I.C.E.F. but "by UNICEF in co-operation with other United Nations agencies, notably the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization." It represents "a great co-operative effort on the part of many governments in many parts of the world."

Thus, through the children, the peoples of the world have found a way in which they can

work together, regardless of race, creed, nationality, or politics. The children have made their contribution in a way that makes more than worthwhile the largest and the smallest contributions to their behalf.

The European feeding program has been shifted to bring greater concentration on the school-age group because the school-age group, by and large, is most in need. This winter the UNICEF child-feeding program in Europe includes an increasingly larger proportion of these children. Of the 4,335,750 under the UNICEF program, almost 3,000,000 are in schools. In Austria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Italy, and Poland, practically all those aided are in this category, from those in pre-school and kindergarten classes through those in high school classes and apprentice schools.

Studies show that these school children are faring less well than their younger brothers and sisters who are benefiting from priorities in local milk and infant health programs. In many instances those in schools, which means those living with their own families, have less to eat than those in institutions; many of the latter receive help from outside agencies in addition to that given by the government. The school-agers, furthermore, are "the war's children"; the health of many shows the result of war and postwar deprivation.

Children in such institutions as orphanages, nurseries, hospitals, and sanatoria represent in some of the countries a substantial proportion of those aided by U.N.I.C.E.F. Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia are said to have thousands in this category in special need of U.N.I.C.E.F. assistance. In Greece there is the problem of the child refugees; and in Rumania a special effort is made to reach mothers and infants.

The total number of children and of infants (under one year old) and mothers aided in the various countries is as follows: Albania, 26,000; Austria, 440,000; Bulgaria, 195,000; Czechoslovakia, 230,000; Finland, 94,550; France, 55,000; Greece, 340,200; Hungary, 220,000; Italy, 950,000; Poland, 700,000; Rumania, 485,000; Yugoslavia, 600,000. This is a total of 4,335,750, including 751,150 children who are mostly under institutional care.

Reports from U.N.I.C.E.F. missions to Austria and Bulgaria are of special interest:

Austria.—An account from the UNICEF Mission describes how the children were being selected for this year's UNICEF school-feeding programs, this fourth winter after the war.

Prior to the opening of school all children were examined on the basis of health and social need, a check-up made necessary in order that UNICEF aid be given to the very neediest. In some places, conditions were a little better because crops had been good, and in those places the feeding centers were closed, or the number of children reduced. More often the opposite was true, in that more were in need than rations could provide for. For one thing, provision had to be made for children who previously had been aided by foreign relief agencies that had discontinued their work. For another, many families found themselves in a difficult financial position, and unable to pay even a little for the cost of preparation of their child's school meal.

After each child's name the authorities gave the reason for his selection for UNICEF aid. For many the entry is "father killed in war," or "father missing since end of war," or "father blinded in war," or "refugees," or "father unemployed."

In one Vienna district . . . 18 per cent of all school children are war orphans. The fathers of many of the others can work only part time because of war injuries. Most of the children are in the neediest health category.

In another district, 16 per cent of the school children are living in "indescribable conditions in refugee camps and shelters for the homeless." They are badly undernourished. Their parents are totally without property, and in many cases are without employment or earning a small income.

Another part of the report concerns a group of children totally without aid—those who have left school and are neither at work nor in apprentice training. "It is not rare that a youngster cannot start to work because there is no money to purchase working clothes and shoes," the report states. Work, furthermore, is scarce. In one instance, only 1,800 of 11,000 adolescents looking for work as apprentices were successful. The trade schools cannot accommodate any large number, and besides, many of the youngsters have a hard time existing on wages paid apprentices.

Bulgaria.—The value placed upon UNICEF aid in this country is illustrated by the following

excerpt from the Mission report: "Women who are helping with the UNICEF feeding program leave home at four and five o'clock in the morning to prepare a hot breakfast for the school children. Doctors who examine the children in the towns and villages have an increased load, but 'they do not mind since it is for the children.'"

As it becomes known that safe whole milk, made from UNICEF supplies, is being distributed, more and more mothers come to the health centers, bringing their babies for examination and to get the milk. One doctor reports that before the UNICEF program only 2,000 babies a month were brought in; now approximately 8,000 are examined. Another doctor reported that this year he had treated only one case of summer diarrhoea; in other years a great number of babies had this illness. Many more children with tuberculosis are being discovered, through the various health programs in which the Fund is participating; ordinarily, many such cases would have gone unnoticed. One curious result of UNICEF's activity is that the idea is getting around that UNICEF milk is better than mother's milk, and women have to be persuaded that their own milk is best in the first months of infancy.

Miss Catherine van Grunsven of the Netherlands, who recently joined the Mission, writes of her first inspection trip to the feeding centers: "Everybody engaged in UNICEF's work feels the importance and the great responsibility of our activities. I feel sorry that we cannot do more, but what we are doing is extremely valuable and the people, especially the mothers, are grateful for the help given the children. I have been touched and impressed by the sacrifices people are making to improve conditions in this country."

CHILDREN OF EUROPE

AN INTERESTING account of Europe's youth by the director of the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada was published recently in the U.S.C.'s *World Service*. It was pointed out that until 1948 the physical needs of young people in Europe were so overwhelming that little attention could be given to other problems; but, during the summer of 1948, social workers and educators laid new emphasis on the importance of a moral and psychological need for the re-education and the retraining of the thou-

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sands of children and young people who were exposed during the war to dangerous influences of many kinds. They were "taught and trained to steal, lie, deceive, drink and to hate. An enormous amount of re-education is necessary, and pitifully little has been done, so far, for lack of personnel and funds." The article continues with an account of the situation in Poland, where there are still "great numbers of vagrant boys and girls, mostly orphans, whose parents were killed on the battlefield, in concentration camps or in gas chambers." These young vagrants live by stealing and "black marketing"; they live "in the ruins, in the streets, in the fields, until the police finally take them to the transient station, where they are supposed to stay for an observation period of three months." But they are said to run away again very often "mostly wearing their Sunday clothes which they try to sell on the black market." The author is undoubtedly right when she says that "what every one of these boys and girls needs, above all, is understanding, interest and affection." And she emphasizes the fact that even the toughest and roughest boys respond quickly to kindness, for every one of them wants to know that somebody really cares. "This deep urge for attention and craving for affection is particularly obvious with smaller children."

There is further emphasis on the fact that, in spite of all the physical handicaps and difficulties and problems, "the spirit of the peoples on the continent is admirable." In general, they look forward to an end of the present difficulties, but they are afraid of war. "Their fear is concrete, direct, filled with the personal knowledge of suffering, anxiety, hunger and destruction."

"Can people everywhere not live together in peace and nurse the wounds and build a better tomorrow for the children?" a mother asked in Prague, while rocking her crying baby in her arms. 'Tell me,' she said, 'will we ever have peace?'

The President of the United States in his Inaugural Address spoke of our "great hopes and great fears." This would seem to be especially true at the present time of the children of Europe and their mothers.

THE F.H.A.

IN A recent issue of the *Nation* an interesting article deals with the Federal Housing Administration.¹ The F.H.A., which was established by the National Housing Act of 1934 "to encourage improvement in housing standards and conditions, to create a sound mortgage market and to provide a system of mutual mortgage insurance" was also to help revive the construction industry.

The article on the F.H.A. in the *Nation* does not deny that, at a time when "mortgages and real estate values were in a state of collapse and building activities were negligible," the F.H.A. was extremely useful in stimulating the mortgage market; but the charge in the *Nation* is that the F.H.A., having been successful in stimulating the mortgage market, has continued in the last fourteen years its policy of "stimulating" and has done nothing else. "Holding fast to its immediate objective, it lost sight of the New Deal goal—to bring better and lower cost housing to the people." Its personnel has become "tired, bored, and job-security conscious. The spark has disappeared and only routine remains."

This is a timely article—for the Congress is now expected to take a new view of federal housing, and it is well to be reminded of the importance of the administration in any legislation that is enacted. The *Nation* says that "any housing measure will to a large extent be nullified [by] the F.H.A.," and a careful rethinking of the administrative aspects and the kind of administrative personnel needed would seem to be in order.

THE "LOYALTY CHECK"

A RECENT article of interest and importance appeared in the *Yale Law Journal*, by Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale University Law School, a former general counsel of the Office of War Mobilization who joined the Yale faculty in 1946 after holding important government legal posts since 1933, and David M. Helfeld, a graduate fellow in the Law School.

¹"FHA—Profits before Housing," by Alfred Steinberg, a Washington economist, who has been consultant to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

This article is a 143-page report of a comprehensive study of loyalty among government employees, which was conveniently summarized in the *New York Times*. The authors compare the government's loyalty program to those of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and they believe that the current loyalty check not only was unnecessary but has been making the federal government an example of repression for the whole world.

The summary in the *Times* says:

Professor Emerson and Mr. Helfeld declared the loyalty program was an aggressive effort to weed out the potentially disloyal and was designed to remove from Government service individuals whose ideas, associations and legal activities indicate that they may in the future engage in conduct injurious to the Government.

Specifically, the authors pointed out, it is this latter characteristic of the loyalty program that conflicts with the basic American traditions of freedom of speech and belief, and necessitates "a large staff of secret police, the maintenance of a master file of 'derogatory information,' investigations and hearings that probe into every corner of a man's life for information on opinions, associations and personal habits."

Denying the need for a general loyalty check involving all Federal employees the authors said that "no concrete showing of immediate and widespread danger, adequate to outweigh the price that must be paid in the loss of democratic values, has thus far been presented to the country."

Neither the hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities nor the Government's loyalty check, in which 200 to 250 out of more than 2,000,000 employees will have been found disloyal, indicates a "serious problem," according to the authors.

For the great mass of Federal employees, the authors held the existing criminal statutes, plus the normal disciplinary powers of a Government Agency, were sufficient to meet any present or immediately foreseeable danger.

The authors propose, however, a positive program of screening for Federal employees dealing directly with "vital and highly secret matters of national defense," primarily in the Defense and State Departments and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Expressing doubt that a loyalty program was "advisable under present conditions" for the limited number of persons occupying policy-making positions, the article declared that such employees must conform to the policies of their superiors, and overt acts of espionage, sabotage, or conspiracy on their part could be dealt with by customary methods of detection and punishment. However, the authors said, the "present temper of Congress, and perhaps of the country, seems to demand some action" with respect to those in policy-making positions.

For this reason, the authors would consider whether, in the case of the policy-making employees, standards and procedures could be developed "which might assure a greater measure of protection and at the same time avoid current program."

The proposed program, it was emphasized, would not allow screening out of Federal employees or applicants "who advocate or believe in political, economic or social changes accomplished by peaceful, legal and democratic means."

"If we succumb to the fears and passions of those who shun the new ideas and seek to postpone inevitable change by repressive measures, we shall deal a crippling blow to all democratic institutions and values."

Under the proposed program of screening the following standards would disqualify persons for Government service: (1) "Personal advocacy of the overthrow or change of government by violent or other illegal means; and (2) membership in an organization after such organization has been found, in accordance with appropriate procedures including court review, to advocate the overthrow or change of government by violent or other illegal means."

Proof that a particular individual falls within the ban, the authors believe, should be based on direct evidence, and "membership" should not be limited to actual card-holding, but should include participation in the activities or management of the organization regardless of formal status.

To administer the proposed program, Professor Emerson and Mr. Helfeld suggested that the Loyalty Review Board, "assuming that it continues to be staffed with men of liberal and tolerant tendencies," should maintain affirmative supervision of administration of the program.

In a second suggestion with regard to administration, the authors were sharply critical

of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, maintaining that the "FBI and other professional investigation agencies should be subject to a greater degree of 'civilian' control." They believe that there were signs that the FBI was "moving dangerously" in the direction of developing into "a grave and ruthless menace to democratic processes."

In their critical appraisal, Professor Emerson and Mr. Helfeld stressed that this nation's history "has been marked by a never-ending struggle between the ideal of freedom in political expression and the efforts of temporarily dominant groups, particularly in periods of crisis, to demand rigid political orthodoxy." Such a period of crisis, they think, exists now in the matter of political and civil rights.

Administration of the present loyalty program has violated Anglo-American traditions of procedural fairness by failing to provide for complete notice of the charges and for full disclosure of the evidence upon which the decision was reached, the authors held.

The authors also conclude that the program has failed to provide for judicial review; that there has been no "satisfactory" definition of loyalty or disloyalty formulated by Federal legislation, or executive agency or the courts; that the operation of the program placed the average Government worker under "constant pressure to conform to the conventional and the safe," thus placing him in fear of exhibiting the very qualities most sought after by competent administrators in private industry as well as government.

Attention is also called to the fact that the program in effect placed "a veto power on Government employment in the hands of the FBI; that no procedural limitations were placed upon the Attorney General's power to designate an organization or group as subversive, and that no precedent was available in foreign experience outside the totalitarian states for a system of loyalty surveillance similar to our American program."

THE DOCTORS AND NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

DR. CHANNING FROTHINGHAM of Boston recently published an article in the *American Federationist* entitled "Doctors Don't All Wear Blinkers." Dr. Frothingham has been a strong supporter of national

health insurance, and his article is interesting and very brief so that we are quoting it in full:

A "grass roots" doctors' revolt against the American Medical Association's \$3,500,000 political war chest to block national health insurance is under way. The Massachusetts State Medical Society announces that it will not make it obligatory for its members to pay the \$25 assessment recently voted by the A.M.A. House of Delegates. "A.M.A.'s \$25 Levy on District of Columbia Doctors Draws Protests," headlines the *Washington Star's* report of the Medical Society meeting in the capital city. Already A.M.A. spokesmen have been forced to slash their original \$3,500,000 war chest figure to "between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000."

Many doctors deeply resent the fact that the decision to launch the nationwide multi-million dollar campaign against national health insurance was taken without consulting the medical profession at large. They deplore the secretive and hasty way this assessment was pushed through to build the largest political war chest in the history of lobbying.

Many of us believe that the A.M.A. is breaking faith with its member doctors, with the ethics of the medical profession and with the American people.

A.M.A. officers have consistently failed to work with the A.F. of L. and other labor, business, farm and consumer organizations for a real program to bring adequate medical care within the reach of all citizens. From personal knowledge, I know that more and more doctors are repudiating A.M.A. obstructionism. They are pressing for a constructive approach to the problems of financing medical care and the better distribution of doctors, hospitals, and medical facilities.

Best proof of the fact that not all doctors wear A.M.A. blinkers is provided by a recent medical poll reported by the journal *Medical Economics*. Asked whether they would serve if national health insurance is enacted, four out of ten doctors said they are either open-minded or *ready to participate*—twenty-five years of A.M.A. counter-propaganda notwithstanding.

This issue now is one which every A.F. of L. member and his family must understand. The worker has a vital stake in it. It is the issue of the people's health versus the special interest of the American Medical Association. In that fight I believe that the rank and file of American doc-

tors will join with the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor and other groups sincerely concerned with the public welfare.

WEIGHING THE NEW BRITISH HEALTH SERVICE

ALL social workers are anxious to know how the new British Health Service—one of the greatest social experiments of the century—is working; and the *New York Times Magazine* which published early this year a very fair account of its merits and demerits will be widely read. For one thing the *Times* article emphasizes the fact that the new service has come to stay. "...there will be no turning back even if the Conservatives win the next general election, partly because eggs that are scrambled can't be unscrambled, and partly because everyone applauds the ideal behind the new service. Critics have no valid alternative to offer, which was why the British Medical Association finally agreed to cooperate with the scheme." And the writer's conclusion was: "If the Tories come back to power they will make changes in the health service, but they won't try to abolish it. A great social experiment is under way, and a nation is committed to make it work."

And the *Times* writer thinks that if the new service is working smoothly in ten years, it will be "a great accomplishment." For example, he thinks that "if the doctors have been busy since July, dentists are frantic with work. Unlike the doctors, there aren't enough dentists to go around and nobody can register with the dentists. There is a priority for children, maternity cases and emergencies; otherwise you wait your turn." Attention is called to the fact that when an Englishman has a toothache, "he waits until he can stand it no longer and then goes to a dentist and has the tooth yanked out. When a number of teeth have been pulled he is in the satisfactory state—to him—of being able to get the rest extracted so that he can have a denture made." And now that dentures are free, under the new services, one gets the impression of "an impatient population queuing up to get their teeth pulled and dentures

made. The Socialist Government seems to be realizing the prophecy of the Scottish divine who was asked how there could be gnashing of teeth for toothless sinners. 'Teeth will be provided,' he replied." And the conclusion follows that "because of the shortage of dentists and the demand for their services, dentists' earnings have rocketed into the big money."

What of the doctors and dentists who did not join the new services? Well, we are told that those who stayed out of the health services carry on as before. "Specialists and those with well-to-do clientele and long-established practices can manage, although they earn less." And they are said to have been "surprised and disconcerted when more people joined the health scheme than they had expected, leaving fewer private patients." In general, it seems to be clear that the doctors who stayed out were obviously those who could afford to continue on their own.

Finally, there are some interesting statements with regard to cost. The estimate made in Parliament was that for the first year the cost would be £152,000,000 (about \$612,000,000); but, when the estimates were finally made for that first year, the 1948-49 figure was raised to £218,000,000. Now we are told that the actual cost will be fully £240,000,000, which is, of course, nearly a billion dollars. But it is the service and not the cost that is important. If the service meets a basic need of the people, then, like education, the necessary cost must be found.

The writer in the *Times* thinks that "the medical effectiveness of the National Health Service is more difficult to assay than its popularity. There have been no epidemics this winter, and except for one fog that lasted five days, no weather calamities to put undue strain on the profession. Everyone connected with the service itself insists that it is too soon to pass judgment on the country's health after only six months." In general, however, it seems clear that "medical attention, medical appliances and medicines are more widely distributed than ever before."

With regard to the doctors it is said that "from the doctor's viewpoint, the plan has both advantages and disadvantages." Doctors are given a choice: they may be paid entirely by so-called "capitation" fees—17 shillings 6 pence (about \$3.46 annually for each patient on their panels)—or they may prefer a fixed annual payment of £300 (about \$1,210) plus a capitation fee of 15 shillings 2 pence (about \$3.00 for each patient. No doctor may handle more than four thousand panel patients.

Last fall the British minister of health, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, was reported in *Time* magazine to be somewhat "embarrassed by the public's enthusiasm for government-financed doctoring," and he said: "The health service will fail unless the people use it intelligently, sparingly and prudently." *Time* reported that "some patients were running doctors ragged with petty requests." The British were "taking advantage of their chance to get medical care and let the government pay the doctor's bill." Mr. Bevan had commented on "the extraordinary proportion of the population" that seemed to have bad sight, but a check in Birmingham showed that 97 per cent of the people tested actually needed glasses, and manufacturers of frames were two months behind in their orders.

THE SUPERVISOR AND HER PROBLEMS

ONE of the excellent papers read at the symposium on "Professional Social Work: Its Substance and World Significance," at the time of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the New York School of Social Work and the One-hundredth Anniversary of the Community Service Society of New York, was Eleanor Neustaedter's "The Field Supervisor as Educator," published in a recent number of the *Journal of Social Casework*.

This is a rethinking of the old problems of "supervision" that should be very helpful. It is well for us all to be reminded that supervisors are usually recruited from among capable, young practitioners who want the

experience and who are interested in teaching. "They have some initial help from the school, and for the safeguarding of students many agencies offer their young supervisors opportunities for consultation with another staff member experienced in supervision." Miss Neustaedter thinks that because they are young and enthusiastic and "not too far removed from their own student days, they have a special contribution to make to the student. They usually start by having assigned to them one or two young beginners. In general, they learn by doing. . . ." However it is added that "they, as well as their own supervisors, have too much to do."

The author points out that "supervision of the young beginner is the most difficult kind of supervision and we are told that ideally, it is the supervisor who has already demonstrated competence in supervisory practice who should have responsibility for inducting into the field the young beginning student of case work." It is suggested that "competence and security of the supervisor should support the young student and compensate for his own ineptness and self-doubt." And the question is raised as to whether beginning supervisors and the students supervised might not "do better when the student either has had agency experience or is a young staff member who already has made his adjustment to practice."

However, the question may well be raised as to the effect on the agency and the clients when the student is given agency experience before having the necessary training.

PRIVATE AGENCIES AND THE EXTENSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY

PRIVATE social agencies have been urged by the Family Service Association of America to support the extension of so-called "social security." The Association tells these agencies that they now face the best opportunity in a decade to aid extension of social security and to further the development of national, state, and local programs of aid to families and individuals.

Referring to a newly published pamphlet,

Advance or Retreat for Private Family Service, by Bertha Reynolds, in which Miss Reynolds suggests that private agencies have moved too fast in limiting relief, the director of the F.S.A.A. said that family service agencies were "firmly committed to the principle that basic maintenance relief is the responsibility of government agencies and that voluntary agencies should resist pressure on them to assume it." This is an interesting and important statement since it shows how far the policy of the agencies has changed since the beginning of the Great Depression, almost twenty years ago. In 1946 the F.S.A.A. Committee on Current and Future Planning urged that voluntary agencies should, in their communities, give the strongest possible support to the development of high standards of practice and personnel in departments of public welfare and equally strong support to federal planning for an adequate social security program. The F.S.A.A. thinks that "there is no question that unmet needs of people on marginal incomes, and particularly those dependent on public aid, have greatly increased in the last few years. The whole effort to extend public responsibility for the minimum welfare of families in the nation was seriously retarded by the war and concentration on military requirements." Then the F.S.A.A. also notes in the director's statement that family service agencies in the F.S.A.A. membership are still "spending more than a third of their total budgets on financial assistance to families," and the suggestion that family agencies should attempt a significant expansion of relief-giving is said to point to "a retreat to the past." Instead, we are told that there should be "a determined fight for adequate public aid with private agencies lending their full support."

There is criticism of those who think that "in times of full employment the public is not willing to extend social gains." On the contrary, the F.S.A.A. thinks that there is evidence that the everyday citizen now "sees the urgency for relieving some of the unmet needs of American families—not only in public assistance and social security, but

also in housing, care of the physically and mentally ill, and in education as well." And we are told that this is "the direction in which family service, and all of social work, now needs to face."

NOTES FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

THERE have been two important subjects discussed by the schools this quarter: first, the annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, held in Boston late in January, and, second, the annual report on the statistics of registration of the schools as of November 1, 1948, and for the calendar year 1947-48. At the Boston meeting Dean Benjamin Youngdahl of St. Louis delivered the presidential address, and his appeal to the 350 delegates present was not too hopeful. The term "social work," he thought, had not been defined. He also raised questions regarding "specialization." "Can we have," he asked, "one type of training program for those interested in doing 'psychiatric social work,' another for 'medical social work,' still another for 'group work,' and so on, or is there a sufficiently generic core that will constitute a base—or a heart—for all of the so-called specializations?"

Dean Youngdahl also discussed the "inability of schools to meet numerically the needs of agencies. Is a job reclassification in order, whereby some jobs would require only an A.B. degree, others one year of graduate training, others two years, and still others perhaps three years?" he asked.

Declaring that the three competitive components of the training program—courses, supervised field practice, and research—"quarrel with each other more or less continuously" in relation to the use of students' time, he urged that they and their relative emphases be reviewed.

It might perhaps be suggested to Dean Youngdahl that both medical schools and law schools face problems of specialization—the man interested in pediatrics certainly hoping for special training, and, in the law

school, the man interested in criminal law not finding trusts a helpful subject of study.

A report was made at the Association sessions of the study of the schools which is being sponsored by the Association, although the person who is conducting the study apparently has no social welfare training or experience. The "expert" in charge of the study emphasized the failure of the schools to furnish the number of social workers needed—but, of course, the same thing may be said of the medical schools. Apparently the suggestion, as reported in the *New York Times*, is to have the schools give the students less education in social welfare and more general social science—which is, of course, what the social science group has long advocated.

That is, the "expert" employed to make this study suggests "more inclusive social work fundamentals" and shifting of emphasis in the first year away from "generic case work." "This shift," he said, "will demand that basic preparation include pertinent elements of anthropology, economics, statistics, history, sociology, education, psychology, public administration, human biology, home economics and public health." But, of course, this was the program forty years ago, and some of the older schools left the universities and became independent for a long period of years until the universities recognized their professional status.

The Association was told that the staff of the study "expects to ask several groups of creative social planners within and outside the profession to indicate the nature and growth they expect by 1970 in the total field of social work or in areas of special interest."

The answers to any questions that may be raised should be answered promptly, for the "study" is to be completed by July of the current year.

Mrs. Katherine A. Kendall, of the Division of Social Activities of the United Nations Department of Social Affairs, reported that last year 122 social workers, representing eighteen countries, received United Nations fellowships to help in developing social welfare activities in their countries.

Papers dealing with the curriculum planning were read by Miss Charlotte Towle of Chicago and Miss Gordon Hamilton of New York, and a variety of round tables were available.

Two new schools were admitted to the Association at the annual business meeting—the University of Kansas (admitted as a two-year school) and the University of Missouri (admitted as a one-year school).

With regard to the annual report of the statistics of the schools, which is published by the A.A.S.W. and not the A.A.S.S.W., we do not get much encouragement. In the page called "highlights" of the recent report, there were reported to be enrolled in a "graduate social work curriculum" 7,219 students on November 1, 1947, and only 6,920 so enrolled on November 1, 1948.

For the "unduplicated count" of all students enrolled in the graduate curriculum there were 10,040 in 1947 and 10,091 in 1948. Reports of the degrees received were more encouraging, with 1,682 students receiving degrees, certificates, or diplomas in 1947 in comparison with 2,272 in 1948, an increase of more than a third.

There were, as in earlier years, great differences in the number of students, with twenty schools having fewer than 100 students, fifteen schools with more than 100 but less than 200, eleven schools with more than 200 and less than 300, and only three schools with more than 300 students.

New York remains the largest school, with 913 students. But there are some very small schools—in fact, nine schools reported having less than 50 students. Whether with so small a student group these schools can afford the necessary faculty and other resources for a good professional program is a question of some concern.

IN MEMORIAM

MARY E. MURPHY, 1883-1948

MARY E. MURPHY, director of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, seemed to belong especially to Chicago and Illinois. She was born in Woodstock, Illinois,

graduated from the University of Chicago in 1905, and during the third of a century that she was in social work she worked in Chicago. The Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund was established by Mr. and Mrs. Cyrus McCormick in 1908 and incorporated in 1913 in memory of their young daughter. The Fund's first director was the late Sherman C. Kingsley, who left the United Charities to undertake this new work in behalf of the health and welfare of children.

Mary Murphy had planned to be a high-school teacher. After she left the University of Chicago, she became interested in the Open Air Schools exhibit at the Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco and especially in open-air schoolrooms in Chicago supported by the McCormick Fund. Later she became assistant director of the Fund while Mr. Kingsley was director, and she continued as assistant director when Mrs. Ira Couch Wood succeeded Mr. Kingsley. In 1925 Mary Murphy became director, a position she held for twenty-three years. She was soon recognized as an authority on child welfare and a zealous advocate of child health measures. She was a delegate to the first World Child Welfare Conference in Geneva in 1925. She was active on many boards and committees, serving for a long period of years as a member of the board of directors of the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago and as chairman of its health division; she also served on the budget committee of the Community Fund and was a member of the governing board of the National College of Education and of the Cook County School of Nursing. A medallion and citation were presented her in 1946 by the 4-H Clubs of America, because of her interest in and helpfulness to *all* children.

In the late 1930's the State Department "borrowed" her and sent her to Mexico and Central America at the head of an investigating body to see what could be done to better the plight of children there. Local war plants as well as local war mothers remember her work during the war as chairman of the Child Care Committee of the Office of Civilian Defense and her interest in setting

up war nurseries. And at the time of her death she was serving as chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Child Care.

A familiar and popular figure at national and state child welfare and other social work conferences, Mary Murphy had a wide circle of friends to whom her sudden death from a heart attack meant a great loss.

HELEN CODY BAKER, 1889-1948

AS A pioneer interpreter of social welfare problems, the work of Helen Cody Baker was widely known. Chicago enjoyed her articles and later her "column," for she could write so that everyone who read became interested in social work. But she had a wider audience, and readers of the *Survey* counted her a friend.

Not only did she have a gifted pen and a quick grasp of the main points of what was worth while in social welfare, but she cared for so many "good works" and was always eager to help and be part of the "cause" she wrote about. With Mary Swain Routzahn she was the author of a well-known book on *How To Interpret Social Work*, published by the Russell Sage Foundation; and she was the author of short stories, articles, and essays. For many years she wrote the mimeographed "Bulletin of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies," always beginning each number with some appropriate verses that were much appreciated.

Her friends also remember that she was lovely to look at, and she remained young and beautiful as the years came and went; and she had a quick sense of the things that were gay and amusing in our welfare organization. She will be missed not only by those who were her friends and liked to think that they were her co-workers but by a very large number of unknown friends who eagerly looked for her column every Saturday in a well-known Chicago newspaper.

HALLIE PRICE, 1893-1948

ALTHOUGH she was born in the South and loved the state of her birth, so much of the work of Hallie Price in social welfare was

done in Chicago and in the Chicago region that she seemed in her later years to belong to us here.

She took her A.B. degree at Mississippi State College for Women in 1914 and had some years of experience in teaching and in the Y.W.C.A. in various capacities. In 1933 she joined the staff of the South Carolina Emergency Relief Administration, serving as supervisor and field representative during 1933-34 and as director of research and statistics during 1935-36. In 1936 she became regional representative in the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the federal Social

Security Board, first in Georgia and for the last twelve years in Illinois.

She took time when and as it seemed necessary for further training and did graduate work in the Chicago School of Social Service in 1934-35 and again five years later.

She was an exceptionally able worker herself and became a first-rate administrator. She made many friends in the South, in Washington, and during this last decade in Chicago. Her death is a loss to an important social welfare program and to her many devoted friends.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BRITAIN'S SOCIAL SERVICES AND THE OVERSEAS VISITOR

To the Editor:

Britain's new deal for health and social security, launched July 5, 1948, is a valuable contribution to international social welfare. Regulations recently issued by the United Kingdom government make it clear that these new social services are open to anyone from anywhere who goes to stay in Britain, regardless of nationality, occupation, or income.

Britain's compulsory insurance scheme gives pensions, payments during sickness or unemployment, and other money benefits in return for contributions. Medical care is no longer an insurance service. It is separately provided by a national health service and paid for mainly by taxes. The aim of this service is to afford, without charge of any personal fees, every kind of medical advice or treatment which anyone—Briton, foreign resident or temporary visitor, adult or child, rich or poor—may need. Children's allowances, paid from taxes to every family with two or more children, are also separate from insurance. Only the first child of a family drawing an insurance benefit is supported by the insurance fund.

The children's allowance, 5s. (\$1.00) weekly for each eligible child, is paid to any family living in Britain for at least half of each year, even if the father is working, or a child is sent to school, in another country. The allowance is paid at once if at least one parent is a British subject born in the United Kingdom (i.e., in Britain or Northern Ireland). It is paid after twelve months' residence in Britain if, although neither parent passes this test, one is a British subject born outside the United Kingdom (for instance in Eire, India, or New Zealand) or has become a Briton by naturalization. When neither parent is a British subject, the waiting period is three years.

(A mother counts as British if she was British before marriage, so that a Canadian woman born in Northern Ireland and married to a Frenchman living in England is entitled to the allowance without waiting. The residence test for others need be satisfied only once. An Australian family having earned the allowance by one year's residence, or a Swiss or American

family having earned it by three years' residence, could go back to their home countries for a few years and then draw the allowance immediate on returning to Britain.)

The allowance is also paid after six months' residence for a child born outside the United Kingdom whose parents send him to stay with a family in Britain, provided, of course, the family then has at least one child other than the young visitor.

INSURANCE BENEFITS

Insurance benefits are mostly at the flat rates of 26s. (\$5.20) weekly for an adult, 16s. (\$3.20) for an adult dependent, and 7s. 6d. (\$1.50) for the first child, though there are higher rates for industrial injury and certain temporary benefits for mothers and widows. The flat-rate weekly contribution, which the insured citizen usually pays from the time of leaving school until the minimum age for retirement (sixty-five for men, sixty for women), varies with his insurance class. The nonemployed class—those who do no work for gain—contribute (4s. 8d., or about 93 cents, for a man) for maternity payments, widows' and retirement pensions, and death grants. The self-employed class, in business on their own account, pay more (6s. 2d., or about \$1.24, for a man) and are entitled, in addition, to payments during any illness of more than three days (sickness benefit). The employed have the biggest contribution (9s. 1d., or about \$1.82, for a man) because they are also insured for unemployment and industrial-injury benefits; but nearly half their contribution is paid by the employers. The married woman is always covered by her husband's insurance; but, if she works for gain, she can, if she wishes, contribute for benefits in her own right.

People who go to Britain from other countries must, if they stay long enough, become insured, except of course for children, persons over pension age, and married women (unless the latter take up work in Britain and choose to become insured). The tourist or temporary visitor will not be bothered: no person of working age going to Britain has to become insured unless he

stays longer than six months—unless he goes there to work for an employer. On the other hand, those who intend to stay for a long time, whether nonemployed or self-employed while in Britain, may, if they wish, start paying contributions from the day they arrive if they want to become insured; after six months they must contribute.

STUDENTS' POSITION

There are also special rules for the full-time student or unpaid apprentice, whether at school or university or with a firm in Britain. Whatever his age or nationality, he is exempt from contributing, provided he does no work for gain. If he is sixteen, but under eighteen, years of age, the insurance fund starts an insurance account for him, crediting him with contributions at its own expense. At eighteen these credits cease, but the student can keep his account going, if he wishes, by paying contributions in the nonemployed class. This will be useful for the student who goes to Britain intending to work there when his studies are finished.

The man who goes to Britain to work for an employer whose main place of business is in the United Kingdom (or for an employer normally living there) is insured in the same way as a British worker—he and his employer must contribute from the day he starts work.

(This would apply equally to the Jamaican or the Portuguese working in a British dock and to the South African or Spanish professor taking a post in a British university.)

Some, but not all, workers sent to Britain by employers in their own countries are treated similarly. But some of these men and women (for instance, many newspaper correspondents sent to London, business representatives, and teachers temporarily exchanged with colleagues from British schools or universities) may be covered by public or private insurance in their own countries for benefits substantially similar to those of the British scheme. If they are, and if they are not staying in Britain permanently, they (or their employers) will not want to pay contributions both at home and in Britain. People in this position are therefore exempted from British insurance—except the very small contribution for industrial injury—for the first year of their stay in Britain. If they remain longer, they do become insured; but they are placed in the self-employed class unless their employer maintains a "place of business" in the United Kingdom, in which case they become employed contributors.

These arrangements do not abolish "double contributions" altogether. That can be done completely only by agreements between Britain and other countries whereby social security contributions paid in either country count for benefits in the other. Britain has already signed such an agreement with France, is negotiating others with Eire and New Zealand, and hopes before long to arrange agreements with Australia and other self-governing British dominions and with Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and various other states.

THOSE "BASED" ON BRITAIN

A man may go to live in Britain and become insured and then leave the country for many years, though with the firm intention of going back eventually. Unless he has obviously severed his connection with Britain, it is possible for him, if he desires, to keep his insurance account up to date while away from Britain, so keeping alive his most important rights to British insurance benefits. This he does by contributing at the nonemployed rate while absent from Britain, and he may do this provided he has lived in Britain for three years or paid 156 British insurance contributions for three years before his departure. In this way he can keep his pension rights up to date. If he works for gain while away from Britain, he may instead contribute at the self-employed rate in order to keep his right to sickness benefit when he returns. But there is a more favorable rule for the man insured as an employed worker (even for a few weeks only) who leaves Britain to work in another country for any employer with a place of business in Britain. During the first year of his absence from Britain he and his employer must go on contributing, provided he intends to return eventually; and thereafter his voluntary contributions at the nonemployed rate entitle him to all the employed worker's benefits when he returns to Britain.

People of any nationality who use Britain as their "home base" while working in other countries can, under these generous provisions, maintain their rights to all the appropriate benefits of Britain's insurance scheme. Some of these benefits they can enjoy only by returning to Britain, but widows', orphans', and retirement pensions can be paid to people anywhere in "His Majesty's Dominions"—a term which includes most colonial territories of the British commonwealth as well as all self-governing dominions.

F. LAFITTE

LONDON, ENGLAND

BOOK REVIEWS

Organizing for Community Action. By CLARENCE KING. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. xii+202. \$3.00.

Long identified with the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University, Clarence King is well known among social workers throughout the country as an able teacher of community organization. His teaching rests upon a substantial foundation of experience both in agency and in community work. Throughout his career he has been actively associated with many vital group activities. This broad background has provided him with a rich mine of experience which he has ably exploited in this book.

Without relying upon them exclusively, the author utilizes case histories which are discriminately related to the other materials. Sometimes they illustrate a principle; again they may serve to point up a question to which no clear answer can as yet be given. Very often records of this type are so prolix that the essential points are obscured in a mass of irrelevant detail. Mr. King has achieved an unusual degree of success in reducing his histories to succinct proportions.

Although this book will doubtless be widely used by students, the author clearly sought to interest a lay audience as well. Board members and other laymen who guide the destinies of our welfare programs will find material here that will help them in the carrying-out of their community responsibilities. The brisk, clear style of the volume should help to attract and to hold the interest of this wider audience.

The keynote of Mr. King's useful book is this: The sterile fact of formal organization must be superseded by the psychological fact of real unity. The emphasis is upon those factors that have importance in the influencing of group behavior. Much remains to be known about this aspect of human experience. It is therefore a step forward whenever a person of Mr. King's experience sets down in writing the wisdom distilled from a long period of direct contact with the problem.

WAYNE MCMILLEN

University of Chicago

Psychiatry in a Troubled World. By WILLIAM C. MENNINGER, M.D. New York: Macmillan, 1948. Pp. xiv+636. \$6.00.

Dr. Menninger, a socially oriented psychiatrist, addresses this book to individuals in positions of leadership in all areas of life, with the challenging statement, "National Mental Health, in a large degree, could be purchased if that were our aim." He shows the scope of the problem of mental ill-health and indicates the comprehensive efforts essential for prevention and alleviation of mental and emotional disorders.

The author devotes Part I of his book to historical background and to psychiatry in World War II. This comprehensive, richly documented presentation is not only a record of what war and army life did to precipitate and to produce widespread social maladjustment but it serves as a study of mankind under stress and of leadership needed in times of stress. The demands of war and military life are oriented to what men and women brought to it from civilian life in terms of strength and weakness. This constitutes a telling commentary on social-economic conditions and on family life long familiar to social workers. This material will have value both for students and for experienced social workers, not as a record of social work and psychiatry in a war now over, but as a blueprint of social issues still to be fought for—a struggle in which much that was learned in wartime may be used to advantage in civilian life. This discussion also will be useful to social workers as an orientation to a great cross-section of the population who will be served by psychiatrists and social workers and who will need to be understood and helped in the light of what the war experience meant to them. Several chapters on "Clinical Observations" and on "Administration and Practice of Army Psychiatry" convey a body of knowledge on psychopathology as well as a description of the treatment and management of mental ills and social maladjustment in the Army.

The second section of the book, comprised of twelve chapters, deals with the import of the war experience for civilian life if mental health

is to be safeguarded. Throughout this discussion there is sound emphasis on the need for conditions of life that make for the maximum development of the individual's potentialities. There is no narrow focus on psychiatric resources for the treatment of mental ill; but, instead, a plea for those social conditions, opportunities, and resources that should spell prevention. The author enumerates the many social ills that endanger national mental health and points the need for strong leadership to effect social change. The place of psychiatry is envisaged not merely as a medical specialty but as affording insight on human relations to permeate the making of policies and the development of programs wherever human ills are dealt with or wherever the individual is participating in group life, i.e., note the following chapter headings: "Mental Hygiene in Business and Industry," "Contributions of Psychiatry to Public Health," "Psychiatry in Criminology and Penology," "Mental Health in the Home," "Academic Education and Psychiatry," etc. Social workers will have derived much of this content through their professional education, but there is considerable information assembled here for their use in interpretation to lay groups. The documentation could well be useful in more intensive study than this book affords of specific problems and their solution.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

University of Chicago

Child Therapy: A Casework Symposium. Papers by LUCILLE N. AUSTIN, ELEANOR CLIFTON, ELISE DE LA FONTAINE, PATRICIA SACKS. Edited by ELEANOR CLIFTON and FLORENCE HOLLIS. New York: Family Service Association of America, 1948. Pp. 217. \$3.25.

Family welfare workers, especially, will note that the case work dealt with in this volume represents not a basically new departure in the family field. The direct work with children which it describes does not appear as a new agency function but rather as the logical outcome of a growing understanding of the child as an individual and of the bearing of this upon the help which may be given him as he needs it in the process of growing up. This also brings a fuller recognition of the import for family case work of the dynamic interrelatedness between all family members.

The wealth and scope of material makes

comment rather difficult. Lucille Austin's introductory chapter contains a condensed, somewhat technical account of the major psychoanalytic principles underlying case work with children. In addition, it gives an excellent statement of those characteristics of case work with a child, whether through a simple contact or a psychotherapeutic relationship, which distinguish it from work with an adult.

The book deals primarily with case material. It demonstrates admirably a wide range of treatment principles and skills used in direct work with children of different ages who present a variety of symptoms and the co-ordination of this work with the help given at the same time to other members of the child's family, particularly the mother. As in any discussion of case material based upon intimate relationships with children and reflecting a sound understanding of each phase in their psychosocial development, the reader has an enriched feeling for and knowledge of children's needs and their ways of thinking, feeling, and doing.

The account given of the first years of the agency's contact with the family of Peter Shea, whose case story is presented by Eleanor Clifton, reflects clearly the attitude toward children that still marks so much family agency work today—one which sees them as a "reflection of their (his) parents" with the result that they are often "known only as names on the face sheet, with a question mark at the end of the list substituting for the name of the last baby." This concept of the child as "an active participant in his own fate" might be said to form the core to each contributor's discussion. It has not, however, kept the writers or the case workers from a concern to render needed service to other family members as individuals in their own right.

Discussion of specific treatment measures appears largely as the individual cases are analyzed. For example, Elise de la Fontaine presents the case of a seriously disturbed little girl in which the treatment goals included "preventive work with the young child who has to face certain traumata as well as helping the mother to 'grow up' with her children." In the preceding chapter Miss de la Fontaine reviews a number of the important factors involved in the treatment of the very young child in a psychotherapeutic rather than an analytic relationship. What she presents is of vital significance, not only when direct treatment of such a child is being contemplated, but also in those cases where the

help to the child is planned solely through work with the mother. Such questions are considered as the use of play material for diagnosis as well as treatment purposes, the transfer of workers, and the helping of a child in the oedipal period to live through the death of the father without a lasting emotional scar. It also presents and analyzes the treatment of the mother.

Patricia Sacks has two chapters on "Prevention of Reactive Disorders" and "A Primary Behavior Disorder with Marked Neurotic Trends," which deal with the guides in determining whether or not a child in a family needs direct help. She analyzes a case which serves as a springboard to consider the determining factors in the establishment of a therapeutic relationship. Throughout the volume there is careful consideration of the question as to the child's need of psychiatric treatment as opposed to direct treatment by a case worker.

Certain general conclusions call for special acknowledgment because of their vital import for case workers dealing with families in a non-clinical setting. The writers, as well as the case material itself, demonstrate the necessity that any worker dealing directly with children should be equipped with a thorough grasp of their psychosocial needs and of the significance of their ways of responding at the various stages of development and with an equal command of therapeutic knowledge and skill.

The high cost of social case work places upon agencies, as well as individual leaders in the profession, a responsibility for repeated study and evaluation of its methods and basic concepts. It is in just such a setting that research, when carefully planned and intelligently executed, may be most fruitful. The entire profession is indebted to the Community Service Society for sharing the results of this excellent study.

MARY E. RALL

United Charities of Chicago

Fundamentals of Psychoanalysis. By FRANZ ALEXANDER, M.D. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1948. Pp. 312. \$3.75.

Students of psychoanalysis in several disciplines are again indebted to Dr. Alexander for a simple, clear, and penetrating discussion of the basic assumptions of psychoanalysis in terms of present comprehension and usage in psychoanalytic practice.

Social work found in this theoretical system almost from its inception a helpful means in

fulfilling its function, that of helping man survive on more satisfying terms with himself and his world. It always has been the social worker's responsibility, but one which has been performed unevenly, to adapt psychoanalytic concepts and principles so that they might enlighten and facilitate social work process rather than confound and encumber it. To those social workers who have attained their aim of using its basic postulates and working principles in ways appropriate to social work, this book will not have new meaning. It will, however, be supportive and reassuring. The present psychoanalytic system, oriented as it is to the social and somatic as well as to sexual determinants in behavior, oriented as it is to man's social actuality as well as to his psychological reality, speaks our own language and affirms social work's contribution to human welfare. If we grasp its implications, we will make progressively more dynamic use of its insights in all areas—case-work practice, social welfare administration, social research, and professional education.

In this well-organized book in which each chapter closes with a comprehensive summary and a selected bibliography, Dr. Alexander, as stated in the announcement, "reduces the basic observations of dynamic psychology to three principles: the stability principle of Freud, the inertia principle, and the principle of surplus energy, and on these three principles he explains the integrative functions of the ego. The book contains a concise discussion of ego development and ego defenses and describes the psychoneuroses and psychoses in terms of ego defense. It also contains a detailed discussion of the principles of psychoanalytic therapy."

Comprehension of Dr. Alexander's discussion of ego development and of the purposes served by its defenses or adaptive mechanisms should renew the social worker's respect for those services in modifying the individual's environment either provide nutrition for physical, mental, and emotional growth or relieve overwhelming stress. It should renew his respect also for the limited but differential help through the interview which the social worker is prepared to give and which has as its aim the support rather than the alteration of potentially constructive defenses.

In the context of the times in which successive events have produced many people deeply troubled but sufficiently enlightened to seek help with relationship difficulties and their own emotional disturbances, social agencies have of

necessity shouldered responsibility for work which demands: knowledge of psychopathology and of personality structure in relation to diagnostic entities; knowledge, understanding, and skill in the management of the transference relationship. The author's placement of diagnosis at the center of the therapeutic process is timely now, when many forces have combined to lead some social workers to scrap diagnosis for easy generalizations which approximate stereotypes. Helping people through traditional case-work services as well as through direct treatment requires knowing the individual precisely in terms of the personality structure, its adaptive mechanisms with differentiation of strengths from precarious defenses. From this standpoint this discussion will have wide usefulness for teachers and for experienced practitioners.

Finally, among other contributions, recognition should be given to this book's import for education at all levels. It conveys the dynamics of learning to which teaching could well be oriented in professional education as elsewhere. Social work education by its very nature is a means for the educable student to achieve maturity or to erect defenses against growth. Its impact on the learner's ego is such that it is decisively important that the student's emotions be engaged in learning. Otherwise frustration, hostility, anxiety, and resistance may engender defenses which will obstruct that development of the personality requisite for competent professional service. Social work educators have surpassed their colleagues in certain other fields, in integrating psychoanalytic insights into some aspects of the educational experience afforded students. If we grasp the full import for professional development of Dr. Alexander's discussion of the development of the ego, its integrative function and its defenses, our educational methods will undergo further change. This book is recommended highly to social workers in all areas of practice.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

University of Chicago

Nursing for the Future: A Report Prepared for the National Nursing Council. By ESTHER LUCILE BROWN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1948. Pp. 198. \$2.00.

The National Nursing Council, believing that the serious lack of both qualitative and quantitative nursing service had been due partly to the present system of nursing education,

asked the Carnegie Corporation for a grant to study the situation and appointed Esther Lucile Brown as director of the study.

Miss Brown visited some fifty schools of nursing and consulted physicians and hospital superintendents; she sought assistance from professional and lay advisory committees, from regional study groups, and from numerous individuals.

Her report begins with an analysis of the changes taking place in hospitals and in other health agencies as a background against which the functions and preparation of the nurse may be studied. Emphasis is placed upon the importance of determining the kinds of nursing functions that need to be performed and the types of personnel best suited to carry them out. The simpler functions are considered to belong to what is called the "nongraduate nurse." The functions and responsibilities of the "professional nurse" are described and discussed. Between these two groups—that is, between the nongraduate nurse and the truly professional nurse—Miss Brown places the graduates of most of today's hospital schools. She believes that, at the present time, it is impossible to conclude whether this middle group should be continued indefinitely, but she sees them as essential for a considerable period.

Recommendations are made regarding the education of the three groups. The report recommends "that sound legislation relating to trained practical nurses be enacted promptly in states without such statutes; that this legislation elsewhere be reviewed, amended, and made mandatory as of a fixed date." Several plans for the education of this type of worker are presented, but Miss Brown considers further experimentation necessary before making recommendations which might set a pattern.

Some of the most far-reaching recommendations have to do with the education of the nurse in the middle group—the "graduate bedside nurse." In relation to the education of this group the report recommends that many of the existing hospital schools be closed as "socially undesirable"; that the better schools markedly improve their curriculums; that the best schools seek affiliation with colleges and universities; "that nursing make one of its first matters of important business the long-overdue official examination of every school"; and that a comprehensive list of accredited schools be given widespread circulation, such a list to carry a statement to the effect that schools not on the list

had either failed to meet minimum requirements or had refused to permit examination.

The education of the "professional nurse" is considered to belong within the institution of higher learning, and recommendations regarding the organization, financing, and faculty of the professional school are clearly stated. Curriculum-planning is discussed in some detail, with a recommendation for consideration of the integration of the academic and professional curriculums.

Problems of recruitment are presented, and much of the reluctance of young women to enter nursing is attributed to the undesirable conditions prevailing in nursing schools and in nursing practice.

The entire report is a frank, realistic appraisal of the situation in relation to nursing practice and nursing education, with responsibility for many of the problems placed squarely upon nurses themselves. Miss Brown has a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties involved, however, and indicates that part of the responsibility for the present situation—and for its improvement—rests upon other groups and, indeed, upon the public as a whole.

MARY M. DUNLAP

University of Chicago

Services to Children in Institutions. By CECELIA MCGOVERN. Washington, D.C.: National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1948. Pp. xiii+452. \$4.50.

This book on services to children in institutions is a welcome addition to the literature in the field of child care. It is almost two decades since Dr. Cooper's book on *Children's Institutions* was published, and more than seven years since Howard Hopkirk's study on *Institutions Serving Children* appeared. In these seven years many things have happened in the child-care field. Considerable progress has been made in incorporating psychiatric principles into case-work and child-management programs. We have begun to think of the institutional setting as offering unique possibilities for the care and treatment of certain kinds of children. We have begun to think more clearly, too, about the essential elements in care and treatment and how these may be incorporated into practical child-care programs.

All this adds up to a new attitude toward the institution as a child-care resource. With many

workers the institution is no longer an outcast but a favorite child. In part this reflects the difficulty of finding enough of the right kind of family foster-homes and the more critical appraisal of foster-homes in the treatment of the difficult child. More precise skills in the observation and diagnosis of child behavior have revealed the existence of a greater number of children in need of various kinds of specialized treatment programs. This, in turn, has accelerated the growing interest in the positive potentialities of the institution and the opportunity it offers for greater conditioning of the total plan for the re-education and treatment of the child.

This book very wisely concentrates on services to children rather than on administration and finance. And it is significant because it carries the imprimatur of the Catholic church and is written by a member of the staff of the Catholic University of America. This will make it more generally acceptable to administrators of large groups of institutions under Catholic and other auspices. The book is liberal and progressive in its point of view. It seeks to incorporate the contribution which psychiatry and dynamic psychology can make to child care, and, throughout the discussion of the many problems it deals with, it continuously stresses the underlying meaning of human behavior. It will be useful to any administrator of a children's institution, large or small.

As one who has been involved in planning and administering child-care programs, I find it difficult to repress some disappointment that this work does not achieve greater clarification of basic problems involved in foster-care and residential treatment. It should not be assumed that this is the writer's fault. The basic problem lies in the limitations of our knowledge of human behavior and methods for influencing child growth and development. This book leaves the reader with increased understanding of child-care practices and with many concrete suggestions as to improved methods, but it seems to fall short in providing him with a set of principles which become his own and which he can use as a basis for independent application.

Nor does one find a sufficiently clear presentation of what we know and what we do not know. The discussion of the application of group principles to institutional programs is perhaps a good example of this limitation. Miss McGovern is convinced that the unique contribution of the institution lies in the group setting and in the

possibility of applying group dynamics to the management of children. This becomes the keystone of the institutional structure. It is the author's thesis that the institution has value as a child-care resource in that it offers group living in contrast to the family home which provides individual and a more intimate type of care. One is characterized by a great degree of flexibility and close personal ties with the adult; the other by impersonality in relationships and by the maintenance of standards applicable to all members of the group.

The author freely concedes that we know very little about the application of "group principles" to institutional or cottage-life programs but, nevertheless, relies on this little as the major *raison d'être* for the institution. I am concerned that this concept of the institution does not become a cloak for justification of substandard practices, i.e., thirty children to a cottage.

Children are now generally selected for placement in institutions rather than in foster-homes for the following reasons: they are incapable of accepting substitute parents, either because they have close personal ties to their own parents or because they have been deprived of affection to such an extreme degree and have thereby been so traumatized in their emotional growth that they are incapable of close personal relationships to parent substitutes. Then, too, there is the adolescent group who, for well-known psychological reasons, are living out their conflicts in relation to parents as well as all other adults who stand in the role of parents.

Now, it is true that at the point of placement these children all seem to need an impersonal living situation. However, observation of these same children in institutional care often discloses their great need for parent substitutes. No one can foretell when this need may arise. It cannot be blocked off into calendar periods; it may arise within a month or within three months after a child is admitted to group care. It seems important therefore, that the opportunity for the child to establish such identification with adults should be provided in the environmental situation. This means group care but so organized that the possibility of close personal relationships with the adult is ever present.

Now, what do we know about group principles as applicable to the planning and management of the cottage groups? It is striking that the little that we do know is not derived from

experience with children in the cottage situation but largely from work with recreational and therapy groups. We have learned that the group may be both a constructive and a destructive force in molding the attitude of its members. It may be the medium for inculcating the mores of a gang or that of a Boy Scout troop. We have also become aware of the degree of pressure which the group exerts on its members, and the quality of this pressure will vary with the composition of the group itself. Some children can take this pressure and others cannot. Group therapy teaches the importance of the group as a medium for the expression and control of impulses and as a factor in the personality development of its members. We have learned from natural and play groups a good deal about the relationship of the child to the leader.

While we have begun to look at the cottage as a group situation, we have as yet done relatively little to establish the ways in which this kind of living group differs from the therapy or natural group. The criteria by which members are assigned to the cottage, the multiplicity of community interests, the prolonged associations as members of the group, are obviously factors which provide a beginning for a study of this kind of group and the ways in which it resembles and differs from the others. Certain principles governing the relationship between leader and group as a whole and among the individual members have gradually been established, but further inquiry in many directions is necessary to test these in the special living situation and relationships which exist in the cottage.

There may be other approaches to the institution as a child-care resource. We may very well think of the institution as offering a combination of substitute home with the potentiality of close parent-child relationships, plus special services within a community setting built around certain goal ideas. But this is not in conflict with the fullest utilization of the principles of group education and group treatment. There are still values in small cottage groups offering possibilities for close personal ties with group activities and group therapy fully utilized as part of the total institutional program. In any event, the concept of the institution as a group-care resource, even though it is appealing, is not much more than an imagined ideal at the present time.

As we come close to the basic issues involved in the care and treatment of children, we realize

how much we will have to learn before we will be able to plan for children in accordance with their needs and with confidence in the effectiveness of the methods we employ. The importance of focusing on careful definition of problems and critical appraisal of various methods becomes all too clear.

HERSCHEL ALT

Jewish Board of Guardians
New York

Group Work with American Youth: A Guide to the Practice of Leadership. By GRACE L. COYLE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. viii+270. \$3.50.

A restrained review of Miss Coyle's latest book, *Group Work with American Youth*, is difficult to write. One is tempted to say instead: "This is *it*. Here is group work in its essence and its significance. We who have glimpsed it partially, fragmentarily, recognize it here grown to full stature, analyzed with the care of the scientist, with the glow and the realism of the artist-practitioner, and related to the very meaning of life as only a philosopher can relate it. Read it, enjoy it, and learn from it first hand." But we must attempt to point up the purpose and point of view from which the book is written and to give briefly an idea of its content.

The book is addressed to those working as leaders with leisure-time groups of youth. In the Preface the author states the reasons for her belief that leadership of such groups is important in our society, for "within such groups lie potentialities for enriching experience and stimulating growth which can be of great value to the individuals involved. Within them also, if society knows how to use them, lie the means to direct the expanding energies of youth into responsible citizenship and the acceptance of their place in maintaining and developing an increasingly democratic society."

Descriptions of the group process and of the leader's role in influencing that process form the core of the book. There is a useful chapter on the basic assumptions which the author makes about the leadership of voluntary groups. These assumptions are that: (1) the group worker has conviction about the *value* recreational and educational activities carried on in voluntary groups can yield to both the individual and society in a day of expanding leisure and democratic expectations; (2) the group worker

must have insight in two directions—program activities and the interplay of social relationships; (3) the group worker's concern is person centered, not activity centered. Therefore he needs to learn to understand individual behavior and to see the *whole* person, in his family, his community, his work settings, and not only as he appears on club night; (4) the group worker must learn to function professionally, using the best available underlying science relevant to his job, acquiring professional skills, and recognizing objectively the professional relation of himself to individuals and to groups.

The next chapters analyze aspects of the group process using illustrations drawn from the records of nine groups to which the author introduces us through brief, vivid pictures of each one. The groups vary in age and purpose, from a "Rowdy Robbers Club" of ten-year-old boys to a Social Action Committee of young adults; they vary also in social, racial, and economic backgrounds, so that they represent in microcosm the strivings and the conflicts of youth in a modern American city. The reader is asked, like the group leader, to develop a "kind of three-dimensional insight." "He must see the individuals as they seek through the group the basic satisfactions their personalities require. He must be able to observe and to feel the tides and currents of the group's behavior as a collective entity. . . ."

Skilfully the author analyzes for our three-dimensional insight the essential elements of group life, using experiences from the groups to which we have been introduced. These elements are: the formation of groups, in which the psychological bonds of various groups are examined; the interpersonal relations in a group; the achievement of democratic controls; the art of program-making. In each of these elements of group life, the role of the group leader is analyzed. Finally, the relation of the group worker with the individual member is treated with full recognition of the limited role of the group leader in this relationship and of the part that should be played by the other social work disciplines if intensive individual treatment is needed.

The book closes with a chapter on "Some Guideposts for Leaders," based on the assumption that the group worker is more than an observer, that he certainly is not the "boss," but that he introduces "a new and active ingredient."

Since this is so, the group worker's equip-

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ment like that of all professional workers with people must include both technical knowledge and clarity about the aims for which such knowledge is used. The author then offers a statement of aims in terms of her own convictions, not as dogma but as a help to one's own thinking. The nine facets of her comprehensive philosophy of the meaning of group work challenge group workers and agencies to examine the reasons back of what they do, and to ask themselves whether they have begun to sense the possibilities inherent in group experience for the individual and society. In the author's own words: "It is the very essence of this approach that program and relationships must be worked out in each instance to meet the specific needs of those particular persons. The common factor in them all is the concern of the group worker with individual growth combined always with an active participation in and responsibility for the social whole. These two basic aims are the warp and woof of the democratic philosophy."

The author does not attempt to set forth the training requirements for the task of group leadership. A more eloquent plea for broad professional education could scarcely be made, however, than is implicit in this account of the content of group work and the demands it makes on the group worker.

LUCY P. CARNER

*Division on Education and Recreation
Council of Social Agencies of Chicago*

The Autobiography of Robert Morss Lovett: All Our Lives. New York: Viking Press, 1948.
Pp. x+373. \$3.75.

"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are beautiful, whatsoever things are of good report"—the first two of these Robert Morss Lovett always followed, but as to the third, he had always to convince himself that the good report was deserved. In the grip of accepted practices, he has been one of the few who have refused to be put off with the comfortable rationalization commonly used to conceal injustice or to quiet unpopular criticism. And he has continued to put his head at the service of his heart.

This autobiography shows the small boy of the seventies in Boston's South End, "where the middle class, sharply differentiated from the Brahmins, was making a stand against the

slum," but where the intellectual glory of Bostonian tradition still "cast a mild reflection." But primacy was given to education, and not only to education, but to the virtual obligation of being at the head of one's class. Professor Lovett acknowledges that "rigorous teachers seized my youth, and purged its faith, and trimm'd its fire."

At Harvard young Lovett was drawn toward history as his field but changed to English. However, the two fields seem never to have been separated in his thoughts, and for him "Milton and Dante came alive through some understanding of their politics and theology." It is revealing to note the subjects he chose for his two prize essays—one in high school, one at Harvard—the earlier one, "The Political Thought of Sir Harry Vane," the later, a study of Cardinal Newman. In these two personalities we see the magnets which drew him all his life—the instinct of liberalism, and the power of conscience, that quality which Avery Craven has called "the moral prod which was part of the [American] political tradition."

Never a Landorean who "strove with none, for none was worth his strife," Robert Lovett's life has been full of warm responses to human efforts toward peace and justice among men. A variety of appeals found him prompt and intrepid. He admits "having joined everything when invited, except the Socialist party," but his suspicion of "T. R.'s" latent imperialism also kept him out of the Bull-Moose movement, which included many of his friends. Always he worked for peace; for "Peace without Victory" (1917); for the Kellogg Pact; for the League for Industrial Democracy; for the Committee against Militarism in Education; with the movement to "Take the Profits Out of War"; for the Emergency Peace Campaign, in 1936. However, with two of his groups he differed at the start on certain points and eventually withdrew from them. He explains, "I still believe that liberals and Communists can work together in local causes, but after the League for Peace and Democracy (formerly the League against War and Fascism), and the League of American Writers, I am suspicious of organizations which enjoy their existence on sufferance, and depend on the variable policies of a foreign power."

No estimate of this book should lay too much emphasis on these extracurricular interests, for they only overlay a busy daily life of teaching, administration, or official responsibilities. But personal and official lives enriched each other.

We see President Eliot, Santayana, William Vaughn Moody, Jane Addams, Harriet Monroe, Vachel Lindsay, Debs, Darrow, Sandburg, Dos Passos; Florence, Munich, Athens, Chicago—with its “reputation for materialism, cruelty, and clownishness” but with Dr. Harper’s stellar academic band and the yeasty makings of a midwest culture—and later, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, with their problems, local and congressional. Finally, we come back, in full circle, to “an elegiac period of life.”

His creed as a professor of English is evident in his “Chicago” chapter: “The teaching of literature as such . . . seems to me far less profitable or necessary than promoting the comprehension of the life from which that literature sprang,” and in this belief lay his best gifts as a teacher. His influence was voiced by one of his students: “He never preached and he never lectured. Yet somehow I got from him a sense of being backed up, approved, as long as I was engaged in finding social truth. . . . I could never show him anything I didn’t feel was basically good.”

Structurally loose, and as informal as daily talk, Robert Lovett’s story is still specific and wide enough in scope to be a valuable reflection of the years it covers—years seen in the warm light of a brave and humane life.

JESSIE HIRSCHL

Chicago

Frederick Douglass. By BENJAMIN QUARLES. Washington,: D.C. Associated Publishers, Inc., 1948. Pp. 378. \$4.00.

This is the best book yet written about Frederick Douglass, who was born of a Negro slave mother and a white master about 1817, and escaped from slavery at the age of twenty-one. Practically all his other biographers, most of whom, including Quarles, were members of his own race, have made him a demigod rather than a human being.

Frederick Douglass was one of America’s outstanding Negro leaders and a “great man” irrespective of race; but he had his share of mortal weaknesses, and the author has not failed to point them out or to call attention to the fact that Douglass had the benefit of being “the right man at the right place at the right time.” That is, if some other Negro with the same imposing stature, resonant voice, colorful vocabulary, and dramatic personal background had been on the scene during the pre-Civil War

decade, particularly in a northern community pulsating with abolition fervor as New Bedford, he possibly would have come on down through the years as much a racial hero as Douglass.

Douglass was without question not only the greatest Negro leader of the abolitionist movement but possibly—with the exception of his discoverer, William Lloyd Garrison—the greatest leader of the movement irrespective of race. By the very force of his character and the charm of his personality he undoubtedly won more adherents in this country and England to the cause of Negro freedom than any other individual, white or black.

Quarles infers that Douglass may have had more influence than is generally suspected in holding the English government in line during the Civil War to support the Union at a time when England’s position was very uncertain and when there were more northern than southern supporters in England. The noted English leader, Henry Richard, wrote that Douglass’ appeal to the British public to prevent England from recognizing the Confederacy as a sovereign state had tremendous weight. It may also be pointed out that his advocacy of Lincoln’s candidacy was said by some to be so effective that he made Lincoln “the first to be elected to the White House by a slave.” To a certain extent this is an example of Allan Nevins’ recent contention that there is a new shift in the recording of history from the deterministic point of view (prevailing in recent years), which sees history as the product of impersonal economic and social facts and forces, to one in which the factor of human personality and choice are again seen as playing important roles.

Quarles makes it clear that Douglass, as an abolitionist, orator, journalist, reformer, federal official, and diplomat, took full advantage of most opportunities to advance his race; but Quarles also points out that the great man missed several chances, as for instance, his unwillingness to continue with Susan B. Anthony in the movement to link the fight for woman suffrage with the fight for Negro suffrage and, what was much more serious, his unwillingness to ally the movement for Negro progress with the organized labor movement which emerged shortly after the Civil War. It is difficult to estimate how much greater economic advance the Negro would have made if these two powerful forces had been joined in the late sixties and early seventies. What really happened is that by not joining, northern and southern capitalists

found it possible to play black and white labor against each other almost down to the present day. One wonders also whether Douglass might not have been a more powerful leader if he had not practically repudiated the church. But, on the whole, Quarles makes it clear that Douglass was an intelligent opportunist and picked more winning than losing sides with which to align.

Douglass was an exceptionally able organizer of the masses, a quality that is not often found in a person who was also a great orator. He had a limited education but, on the other hand, he had a philosophical mind, a grasp of logic, and an ability to read and absorb the important portions of the books of the outstanding writers of the ages, which stood him in good stead not only in his speeches but in his journalistic activities. For instance, he confounded those in high places who opposed the use of Negro troops in the Civil War when he told a Cooper Institute audience that it was their claim in one breath that "Negroes won't fight" and in the next that "if you arm them they will become dangerous." Douglass' argument is equally significant today in the light of some criticisms of Negro troops in World War I and World War II.

The American Negro has suffered from leaders with contradictory philosophies ever since the emancipation—"industrial rather than classic education," "a voteless people is a hopeless people," "work hard, develop your farms, save your money, and you will get your civil rights." But as one looks over the present scene, 1949, it would appear that the soundest advice, the kind that has brought the Negro farthest along the way, has been that which was sounded by Douglass in July, 1863, when he said: "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S., let him get an eagle on his buttons, a musket on his shoulder, and a bullet in his pocket, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship." Douglass pointed this out as important only because he saw in the Negro as a soldier a foundation for the Negro as a voter and a first-class citizen.

Douglass anticipated the black and white middle-of-the-road proponents of Negro betterment who advocated "gradualism." No such halfway measure for Douglass! His theory, often expressed, was that if the Negro would ask for a whole loaf, he would stand a better chance of obtaining a least a half-loaf. As Quarles points out, a recurring line ran through Douglass'

writing. "Men are whipped oftenest who are whipped easiest." But Douglass represented a type of Negro leader who is no longer existent or possible—i.e., one leader for all the Negroes in the United States of America. This type of Negro leader passed forever with the death of Booker T. Washington, which closed an era.

Douglass' later life as a "Republican wheel horse" and "an elder statesman" is interesting as a study of the man, but it is not so thrilling as the days of his participation in "political abolitionism, the colored convention movement," and the days of "Douglass and John Brown."

Quarles' book, a Wisconsin doctoral dissertation, is interesting and well written down to the last page, and one gets an impression of a mighty man who left a definite impress upon American civilization.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON

Atlanta University
School of Social Work

The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush: His "Travels through Life" Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789-1813. Edited with Introduction and notes by GEORGE W. CORNER. Published for the American Philosophical Society by Princeton University Press, 1948. Pp. 399. \$6.00.

The autobiography of the celebrated eighteenth-century physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence was first published in 1905, but this edition is now rare. Therefore the present somewhat revised book with its introduction and appendixes is an important addition to Rush's other writings and to the extensive literature about him. Rush began the account of his "Travels through Life" in the year 1800, mainly to inform his children of the stirring events in which he had participated and perhaps in part to justify his acts in the several bitter controversies of his life. Included in this volume are also his diaries, or "Commonplace Books," for 1789-1813. These contain short notes on the deaths of his friends, conversations with important figures, notes for lectures, verses to members of his family—all of which throw light on the character and interests of the man.

In the journal Rush gives a brief picture of his apprenticeship under his "master," who he says had the most extensive business of any physician in Philadelphia, and a fuller account of his student days in Edinburgh, the renowned

center of medical education for the period, where he met the great physicians and studied with students from many countries. In London he continued his experience at St. Thomas' Hospital, became acquainted with Benjamin Franklin, and lived in his home. He met Whitfield, the great evangelist; Benjamin West, the celebrated artist; David Hume; Dr. Johnson; William Cromwell, the great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell; and many other personages of the day. Later he traveled to Paris armed with letters of introduction from Franklin and while there visited the hospitals. His mind was quickened by all these experiences, and his interest in the republican form of government was awakened. His journal gives evidence of his great intellectual curiosity and many-sided interests.

On his return to Philadelphia, he was confronted with difficulties in getting established and recounts that, lacking the patronage of a great man, or powerful family influence, or that of a leading religious sect or political party, his only recourse was to practice among the poor. Actually his natural sympathies drew him toward such service, and from the professional standpoint he greatly increased his knowledge of disease and the art of practice through this experience. Thus began what was to be an outstanding career as a physician, teacher, statesman, and humanitarian. Almost from the beginning of his practice Rush came in conflict with the medical theories of the older established physicians and later during the yellow fever epidemics of 1793 and 1797 was again bitterly opposed in the controversy over the origin of that disease.

His interests extended far beyond his medical practice and teaching in the College of Philadelphia and in the University of Pennsylvania. He became active in the movement for Independence, and at his suggestion Thomas Paine wrote the famous pamphlet *Common Sense*. In 1776 Rush was elected a member of the delegation from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress, and his signature to the Declaration of Independence appears next to that of Franklin. Later he was appointed physician general of the military hospitals and records in his journal the cruel neglect of the sick and wounded soldiers. Rush petitioned General Washington to reform the medical department, for, as he said, the management of this division had nearly destroyed the American Army. In the heat of the controversy Rush resigned, but his criticism brought about some measure of reform. He was one of the founders of the first American anti-

slavery society, the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and wrote against capital punishment. He advocated free education and even supported the education of women, which was a radical doctrine for his time. He was concerned about the state of the prisons. In 1876 he helped establish the Philadelphia Free Dispensary, probably the first institution of its kind in this country.

Rush is perhaps best known for his services to the sick during the yellow fever epidemics and as the "Father of American Psychiatry" for his work *Medical Inquiries and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind*, published in 1812, was the first American treatise on mental disease. Because of the versatility of the man and his active interest in the events of his time the autobiography should be interesting to students of the early days of the Republic. Several of the foregoing reform movements are only briefly touched on in this book, and therefore the general reader may want to examine other material about Rush. A recent critique of his contribution to the field of psychiatry is to be found in *One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry*.¹

ELIZABETH WISNER

Tulane University

The American Democracy: A Commentary and an Interpretation. By HAROLD LASKI. New York: Viking Press, 1948. Pp. x+785. \$6.50.

Professor Laski is one of the few living thinkers and writers who are well qualified to comment on and rationally interpret the American political and economic system in the light of history, geography, intellectual and moral climate, and technological factors. Like his famous predecessors, De Tocqueville and Bryce, he approaches his complex and difficult subject from a definite point of view—his being that of Fabian, evolutionary and gradual socialism. His work, that is to say, elaborates a thesis, which is not very different from that of our own non-Communist left. But he is not, in this remarkable study, a propagandist. He is as objective as his subject matter allows any historian and social scientist to be.

¹ Published for the American Psychiatric Association by Columbia University Press, 1944.

A summary of his humanitarian interests appeared in the June, 1928, issue of this *Review*.

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It is true, as some liberal critics have charged, that in some chapters he is more a pamphleteer than an interpreter. In discussing union labor and union leadership, for example, or the spread of anti-Semitism in this country, or radio, the press, and the cinema, he makes no pretense of detachment, and he spares us no detail of the sort a special and indignant pleader would emphasize. If this be a fault, then Mr. Laski must plead guilty of it. But the work as a whole is in the best tradition of scholarly professors of political science and social and cultural history.

Mr. Laski knows us, our politics, our institutions, and our educational aims and methods. He admires the American spirit and does not believe, with the pessimists and cynics, that we have lost our vision and our devotion to our basic principles. He is not quite sure about our future and declares that the problem of America today is whether its way of life is, or is likely to remain, sufficiently flexible and dynamic to perpetuate genuine democracy and to insure necessary major improvements in our economic and financial system.

America, Mr. Laski feels, must work faithfully to conquer both inertia and fear. It is easy to gather from many of his criticisms and observations that he expects the United States to "go Socialist" after another unavoidable depression or two, or after another world war. Where Britain stands today, America, in all probability, will stand two or three decades hence, since like causes produce like results and since there is no satisfactory alternative to finance capitalism other than collectivism, and, naturally, as democratic and free a type of socialism as is possible.

This, in fact, is Mr. Laski's thesis or moral. He refrains from stating it in a plain, brief formula. What he says is this: "Americanism must come to mean the same thing for the sharecropper of Arkansas as for the stockbroker on Park Avenue in New York City, for the steel worker in Pittsburgh as for the corporation lawyer in Wall Street. . . ." To this he adds that the technique by which the content of Americanism is defined must be the agreed obligation to accept free debate, with its corollary of free change, where there is a majority will for free change.

In Britain they speak of their "revolution by consent." That revolution is a fact, attested by the amount of socialization already achieved and the further socialization projected and planned. Should the Tory party return to power

under Churchill or Eden, the revolution by consent will end, and reaction by consent will take its place. Laski hopes that Americans of all parties and no party will understand the British way and before long adopt it.

His work, on the whole, scholarly, good-tempered, admirable, should help us to understand our own condition, problems, and prospects, and to prepare ourselves mentally for the events that are casting their shadows before them.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, California

Postwar Germans: An Anthropologist's Account.

By DAVID RODNICK. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 233. \$3.75.

The reorientation of the German people after the Nazi regime is difficult. Various activities, institutions, youth camps, the relief services of our Military Government, and the attempt of private organizations to reopen channels of mutual understanding and interchange of ideas have not yet penetrated deeply. The findings of this "anthropologist's account" of the situation are based on interviews and the analysis of questionnaires distributed to adolescent girls and boys during a five months' field study in Hesse, under the Information Control Division of the O.M.G. The destruction of houses in the urban centers was recently estimated at 2,850,000 destroyed, with an additional 4,370,000 units made uninhabitable by the severe damage caused by bombs and fire. The influx of millions of deportees and refugees from the eastern zones means a large percentage of the people now living in basements beneath bombed-out buildings or in partly destroyed houses with only half the walls standing. The lack of railroad facilities; the overcrowded, unheated cars without windows; the extreme shortage of food, clothing, and shoes; and the insufficient rations that cannot provide a minimum of health and strength are well known.¹ Dr. Rodnick presents such German characteristics as self-centeredness, loneliness, latent hostility, desire for an authority that may alleviate suffering, humiliation, hopelessness. People working for the Allied Governments are afraid of being killed as soon as the Americans leave—an anxiety justified in the light of the experience after World War I

¹ See David R. Hunter and Howard R. Studd, "Postwar Social Services in Berlin," this *Review*, XXII (June, 1948), 141-59.

with the brigands of the "free corps," the fore-runners of the Nazis. This study was carried on in two cities in Hesse—Eschwege, an industrial town of thirty thousand inhabitants, and Weiburg, a small town of five thousand population. But these cities with little bombardment damage are said not to be typical of other large German cities, and the cultural pattern of these western areas north of Frankfurt-am-Main differs from that in other regions of Germany.

The pattern of class division and the influence of the political parties, traditional in Germany and in most Central European countries, has not changed with the breakdown of the Nazi regime. However, the paternal affection for the children is probably no more sincere than in other countries, and the parental education perhaps makes the children no less aggressive, independent, and resourceful than American children of the same age. The mother plays the main role in the education of the children in Germany, as in many other countries. The separation of boys and girls in school, except in the small village schools, is also an old tradition. A number of experimental schools, private and public, during the Weimar period had introduced co-education, which the Nazi system with its emphasis on military training did not continue. Dr. Rodnick thinks well of the good behavior of the children in Germany, their obedience and friendliness, their quiet self-confidence, and their willingness to comply with the desires of their parents and teachers. It is surprising that he did not find any of the distrust between parents and children that was fostered by the Hitler Youth and other Nazi organizations in order to enlist all loyalty of the children for their political purposes and thus to detect parents who secretly opposed the Nazi terror. But it is inevitable that most children are indoctrinated with nationalism, hate to have their country occupied by "enemies," and are determined that Germany must "regain her honor" and that they will not be free until the occupation forces have gone. It is natural, also, that the children believe that the entire country is hungry, homeless, deprived of its resources, as they are personally. Serious conflicts between parents and adolescent children were seen in the lower-middle class group, less among adolescents of the upper classes, peasants, and industrial workers. The adolescents of all groups were found rather isolated; they felt rejected, helpless, inferior, and unwanted and have suffered most of all age groups. Former Hitler Youth leaders looked

to their future role as new leaders who would influence the younger group. Many of them consider the Germans who co-operate with the Allies as "informers" and traitors. However, they resist passively the ideas of political democracy sponsored by the Western Allies and are skeptical toward democratic government that has not been effective so far. Women still cherish the Nazi slogan of the wife's role as the caretaker of the house and of the children. They revolt against the severe economic insecurity, the heavy burden of housekeeping, and insufficiencies of food, fuel, clothing, and housing. Although no single party has the full support of the women, Dr. Rodnick asserts that the Nazis had been the most successful in this respect.

The study also discusses marriage and the family pattern, including sexual relations, the low divorce rate, parent-child relationship, the life of workers and peasants in the village, and some co-operative agricultural enterprises. Other interviews show the confusion left in the minds of the educated as well as the uneducated.

The author concludes that Nazism as a political movement has lost a great deal of its former appeal but that certain features such as anti-intellectual totalitarian ambitions, extreme nationalistic feeling, hostility toward the non-Germans, are still alive. The class conflict and the general feeling of insecurity are strong. Dr. Rodnick has found some men of good will in all classes and parties but thinks that the Social-Democratic party offers the most hope for "democratic humanitarianism." In general, however, no trend toward political democracy was found. Economic programs that promise "work and bread" seem the most important to suffering, hungry people.

None of the boys and girls interviewed about their vocational plans mentioned social work as the desired future profession, but this may be due to regional circumstances. Of private social agencies, Dr. Rodnick mentions only the German Red Cross serving a hot meal a day for persons who have no kitchen privileges. He does not refer to the other German welfare organizations or to the numerous foreign relief agencies. The author was not correctly informed that "each village conducts its own welfare office." In fact, the county welfare departments administer and finance all types of relief and public assistance throughout the country, and the small local offices in towns and villages are only a branch of the county administration.

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The book is a valuable contribution to understanding Germany today. The author, however, explains that the findings of the study do not apply to other regions which have a different cultural structure.

WALTER A. FRIEDLANDER

University of California
Berkeley

Report on the Greeks: Findings of a Twentieth Century Fund Team Which Surveyed Conditions in Greece in 1947. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1948. Pp. xvi+226. \$2.50.

The Twentieth Century Fund, early in 1947, sent to Greece for three months Frank Smothers, well-known foreign correspondent; William Hardy McNeill, formerly assistant military attaché in Greece; and Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill, who had spent two years in Greece with the United States Information Service. This team of three successfully fulfilled its charge, namely, "to write as unbiased a report as humanly possible which would give the reader a personal feeling of acquaintance with the Greeks—who they are, what they are like, how they make their living, their conditions of life and, most especially, their attitudes and opinions." This reviewer agrees with Evans Clark, executive director of the Fund, that "the team has carried out this assignment with unusual insight and ability, and that its members insulated themselves to an unusual degree from the highly charged currents of bias that deflect, to the right or left of the truth, so much contemporary writing about Greece." Actually the report does more—it describes and analyzes the current economic, social, and political impasse in Greece, setting forth opposing views but trying to cull out the facts even though they may meet with severe criticism from various sources.

The small volume includes a telescoped and readable history of modern Greece as a background to understand present problems. It acquaints the reader with the physical characteristics and beauty of the country and deals sympathetically with the people from mountain herder to city industrialist, from guerrilla raider to prime minister. Presenting the problems of Greece as they relate to world problems, it raises in the mind of the American citizen significant questions concerning our plans and programs in Greece.

Because the book does not take account of

events in Greece subsequent to June, 1947, including political changes, military actions, or the United States aid programs, readers who are interested in a more detailed and current study of Greece might turn to the quarterly reports of the American Mission for Aid to Greece and the reports of the United Nations Special Commission on the Balkans.

Probably because it is written by three people, this volume contains considerable repetition, which, if eliminated, would have made it possible to devote more space to the bearing of the "trouble" of December, 1944, on the current situation. Also, additional facts might have been included about social problems and programs, particularly in the field of labor, health, and social welfare.

The reader turns the last page with the same sense of frustration that follows Americans who have lived in Greece since 1944. After stimulating interest in and understanding of the Greek people and their difficulties, the writers raise our hopes that the Greek problem can be solved but leave us with no assurance that this will happen in the near future. In fact, we are warned that "unless Americans understand the heavy responsibility they have undertaken, and are prepared for far more than temporary and superficial aid, overpopulation will once more, as in the past, be resolved—and only temporarily resolved—by famine, pestilence and war."

RUTH M. PAULEY

Arlington, Virginia

American Historians and European Immigrants: 1875-1925. By EDWARD N. SAVETH. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 244. \$3.00.

Few today challenge the statements that the origin of the American people is multinational and that the Anglo-Saxon element in our population has not played as prominent a role in our national evolution as was once believed. The importance of immigrants from non-Anglo-Saxon countries in the building of America was, however, not generally recognized until comparatively recently, and Dr. Saveth holds American historians largely responsible for this delay.

This book analyzes the attitudes toward European immigration of American historians who wrote between 1875 and 1925. They are said to have had hardly more than occasional

insight into the role played by such immigration in this country's development; if they treated the subject at all, they treated it "as a sort of historiographic hangnail." Furthermore, whether "Teutonists," ascribing the superiority of American institutions to their Teutonic origin, or "Social Darwinists," interpreting American development in terms of natural selection and survival of the fittest, they were agreed that the early immigrants who braved the hardships of an ocean voyage before 1850 and the hazards of life in a little-known land were superior to those who came later. The fact that the historians were themselves from "middle- or upper-class Protestant and old-stock American backgrounds" was also important in shaping their attitudes toward immigrants, which Dr. Saveth summarizes as follows: "We find that the historian generally took for granted the superiority of the old stock; was suspicious of the immigrant as a social and religious innovator; welcomed him as an economic asset; extended some sympathy to the better intentions of the nativists; and hoped the immigrant would conform to the Anglo-Saxon institutional pattern." Such was the norm; naturally there were variations. For example, some, including John Fiske, Burgess, and Henry Adams, considered immigration from other than Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic countries, permanently undesirable; others, among them Roosevelt, Wilson, and Turner, felt optimistic as to the eventual product of the "melting pot."

In the final chapter Dr. Saveth discusses the change in the treatment of the immigrant in American history which dates from about 1925. Sociologists, he says, had made notable studies in the field before that year, and such historians as McMaster, Turner, and Channing were to some extent precursors of this new approach to immigration. He places the late Marcus L. Hansen foremost among the leaders in the new movement; others mentioned are Blegen, Wertenbaker, and G. M. Stephenson. In his opinion, however, "there has not yet appeared the man 'with the magic touch who by a process known only to the Master' could produce 'a masterpiece of historical synthesis' embracing the entire field of immigration into the United States." The field is yet largely untilled; Dr. Saveth points out that of the immigration problems listed by Marcus L. Hansen² some twenty years ago as requiring research, very few have as yet been tackled. Dr. Saveth recommends

² Quoted from G. M. Stephenson's "When America Was the Land of Canaan," *Minnesota History*, X (September, 1924), 237.

that in historical investigation of immigration "that view of history which is broadly sociological" be used. He believes that we have "at least the beginnings of an historiography of immigration" and also "several interesting monographic accounts of special phases of immigration."

The book touches briefly on the large body of literature about immigrants produced between 1875 and 1925 by amateur historians, usually immigrants themselves or sons of immigrants. Excessive ancestor worship—filiopietism, Dr. Saveth calls it—mars many of these studies, but as a whole they furnish information about peoples of non-English origin not available elsewhere. The tendency recently in literature of this sort has been toward more careful scholarship and more moderate claims in behalf of the immigrant group in question.

MARIAN SCHIBSBY

Fillmore, California

England: A History of the Homeland. By HENRY HAMILTON. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1948. Pp. 603. \$6.00.

This is a good book by a professor at the University of Aberdeen in a series edited by Lancelot Hogben. Like much modern British economic history writing, it is highly readable. It has more than one hundred well-chosen illustrations, some excellent maps by J. F. Horabin, many time-charts, and hardly a page that is not enlivened with telling quotations from contemporary documents. All in all, it would be hard to provide students with a better introduction to contemporary British views of British history.

Like all the better historiography in all ages, this is, of course, history with a purpose: "The new history must fortify confidence in our ability to solve the problems peculiar to our time by acquainting us with man's perennial success in solving past problems. Politics, whether national or international, will be relegated to a lower level" (p. 12). It is also history inspired by a philosophy: "How men lived and worked and thought throughout the ages, how man advanced his knowledge and increased his dominion over matter—such are the great things of history. They show man at his best, striving and working towards great social ends" (*ibid.*).

² "The History of Immigration as a Field for Research," *American Historical Review*, XXXII (1926-27), 500-518.

The first half of this book is therefore devoted to man's triumph over nature, in agriculture, nutrition, dress, and health—though not, oddly enough, in housing—with special attention to the role of capitalism both in the homeland and overseas. The second half moves on to man's organization of man, with chapters on the professions, organized labor, women, government, social security, and education.

More space is given to Scottish history than is usual, so that the prefixing of the word *England* to the book's American title is misleading. And nearly one-quarter of the book is devoted to developments outside the homeland, with special attention to American capitalism and the economic and social problems of overseas dependencies.

The defects of this book are inherent in much modern historiography in its switch from *Staatsgeschichte* to *Kulturgeschichte*—a switch that is by no means as novel as Mr. Hamilton would have us believe. Inadequately equipped with the thought-tools of the social sciences, this book seems to lack structure and pattern, for which a general liberality of attitude is no substitute. Thus religion as a social institution cannot be properly dealt with in a chapter entitled "Freedom of Thought and Freedom of Person." To associate the rise of capitalism with industry rather than with commerce and transportation is to fly in the face of one hundred years of economic analysis. And failure to recognize the place of social assistance alongside social insurance as one of Britain's two approaches to social security has led to statements that are belied by Mr. Hamilton's own figures, such as the debatable sentence, "The extension of National Insurance has led to a reduction in numbers claiming relief under the poor law" (p. 512).

A cardinal problem of political science is stated in words such as these:

We have to explore what functions of administration can be usefully assigned to units of government coordinating the needs of small closely-knit communities, and what functions of government involve the interests of large areas of the earth's surface or even the whole of the planet on which we live. A great intellectual obstacle to lucid thinking about this pivotal political issue of our own generation is the doctrine of national sovereignty, which admits no authority transcending that of the nation state. . . . The supreme intellectual task of our time is to clarify what things men and women can best do together in larger and in smaller units of authority than that of the nation-state, without regard to the circumstances which settled national

boundaries in the past, if these circumstances have no relevance to modern needs [p. 471 f.].

Yet all that is then done is to sketch the history of time-honored units of self-government, beginning with the parish and ending with parliament, without any reference to regional authorities—except for the incorrect placing of the Metropolitan Water Board and London Passenger Transport Board "within the county of London" (p. 483)—and without any reference to the multiplication of supranational authorities. No hint is given that the key problem may be less one of separating the functions of various levels than of correlating these functions through such means as grants-in-aid and services-in-aid by higher to lower levels of government. Nor is there any suggestion of the rising role of administration in the "service state," or of the invention of new kinds of administrative techniques and mechanisms, whether for regulatory, benefactor, or managerial purposes. Thus the rich British experience in field inspection, delegated responsibility, appeal tribunals, consultative councils, and management-labor committees—to mention only a few—is hardly noticed. And the national civil service is critically distinguished from the local government service in words that shed more heat than light, such as:

The national recruitment is thus encumbered with an apparatus of personnel recruitment peculiar to itself and called into being by circumstances utterly irrelevant to modern needs. A general examination, prescribed as a safeguard against patronage and corrupt practice at a time when the English universities were either decadent or infantile selects candidates for employment on the basis of scholastic qualifications which have no necessary connection with their future tasks and excludes those who, with accredited qualifications for such tasks, have little inclination to undertake the risk or drudgery of preparing for additional tests with uncertain prospects of reward. Two wars which have called for a considerable expansion of civil service personnel have exposed this anachronism as a powerful force for conservatism by banishing initiative and expert knowledge from scope within the bureaucratic machine as it functions between one war and another. Little short of a social cataclysm will rid the Homeland of the archaic incubus it owes to the Act of 1855 [p. 286].

For this sweeping condemnation no evidence is cited; and the "Act of 1855" was not even an act, but an order-in-council.

W. HARDY WICKWAR

Hamilton College
Clinton, New York

America Divided: Minority Group Relations in the United States. By ARNOLD and CAROLINE ROSE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. Pp. xi+342+ix. \$4.00; text price, \$3.00.

This volume is timely, sound, valid, and admirable. The thoughtful study of the position of racial, religious, and national minorities in this country today, the discrimination they suffer, the hatred and prejudices that divide them, is overdue. And the authors possess the qualifications for it: they are authorities on the subject, and, in addition, they are both theoretical and practical sociologists.

The work is not one which will make the judicious reader comfortable, complacent, or proud of his country. It will not be circulated by chambers of commerce or by enthusiasts for the so-called "American way of life." That "way" has much in it to deplore and condemn. To face the truth is the beginning of a serious effort to tackle the problems discussed and to solve them in what we believe to be the traditional American way and the rational and humane way.

The "minorities" in the book are the Catholics, the Jews, the Negroes, the Mexicans, and the Chinese. While each of these groups presents a distinct problem, all of them are victims of blind prejudice, antipathy, and hatred. Each requires separate treatment, but the basic difficulty, irrational prejudice, is obviously the same in all the cases.

The authors, naturally, devote considerable space to the various theories regarding prejudice. None is found to be wholly satisfactory. All scientific students, however, agree that prejudice is not inherited, that it is acquired, as a rule, in childhood. At the dinner table and in the drawing-rooms children hear much loose and careless talk about Jews and Negroes. The former are loud, unmannerly, tricky, and pushful; the latter, inferior mentally, unreliable, lazy. Racial superiority is often taken for granted in such conversations. Many never rid themselves of these crude and sweeping generalizations.

Anti-Catholicism is declining—the Catholics are influential, and in some communities they are actually dominant. Anti-Semitism, on the other hand, is growing and is by no means limited to the scum and dregs of the population. Zionism may even stimulate that particular prejudice; "Let the undesirable Jews go to Palestine," may be long be a popular cry.

Say the authors: "Most Americans are po-

litically ignorant and apathetic." They need political and sociological education, as the minorities do. There is no other genuine solution. Meantime, the minorities should work and fight discrimination and segregation. The Negroes have made remarkable progress, even in the deep South, toward recognition of their rights, and the Jews, too, have almost banished naked prejudice in some places. The conclusion reached in the survey is that "changes are occurring, and are likely to continue to occur, in the direction of a gradual reduction in discrimination." War or depression would undoubtedly reverse the hopeful trend; so the duty of all decent Americans is clear. Eternal vigilance, plus earnest and systematic effort, is the price of justice and democracy.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, California

National Insurance and Industrial Injuries. By F. N. BALL, LL.B. Leigh-on-Sea, Essex, England: Thames Bank Pub. Co., Ltd., 1948. Pp. xvi+508. 50s.

For those who need to have the basic legislation of Britain's new social security policies in a single volume, clearly pointed and adequately indexed, this publication will be useful. The legal details of administration in a growing and developing pattern of social security are, however, always changing within the broad framework of the basic laws. Mr. Ball points out in his Preface that this book is to be accompanied by a loose-leaf volume covering fresh material as it appears. Although anyone may buy the legislation and administrative orders, making his own selection of what is relevant and necessary for his own purposes, nevertheless, those who find that the legislation, as it comes from H. M. Stationery Office, unbound and on thin paper, is difficult to use for library and reference purposes may welcome a single volume which includes the Ministry of National Insurance Act, 1944; Family Allowances Act, 1944; the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act, 1946; and the National Insurance Act, 1946, together with some of the principal Statutory Regulations and Orders which most affect these acts in administration. The student of social security policies, however, needs more than these four pieces of legislation. The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944; the Educa-

tion Act, 1944; the National Health Service Act, 1946; the Children Act, 1948; and the National Assistance Act, 1948, are other vital parts of the integrated system and should be accompanied on the shelves of students of social welfare by the Criminal Justice Act and the Legal Aid Bill when these are available.

Mr. Ball is a lawyer, and he has prepared an annotated text for lawyers. It is not surprising that he is content to confine his attention to the narrow interpretation of National Insurance and leave others to fill out the broader frame of social security.

This book has certain features which may be of particular interest to those who have tried to follow developments in Great Britain in this field. The Introduction, by one of the outstanding lawyers in the Conservative party, should dispel the persistent illusion on this continent that Britain's social legislation is the product of socialism and therefore anathema in North America. This lawyer writes that "there can be no doubt that satisfaction at the introduction of National Insurance has been general. It represents the social conscience of the nation as a whole. No serious political conflict has arisen on this issue since the Beveridge Report. It is agreed that a basic minimum standard of life must be assured to everyone, and that the weekly wage earner must be freed from the haunting dread of unemployment and sickness." Some shrewd things are added about delegated legislation, so necessary in any complex administrative measure and yet so fraught with problems for democratic control of government.

Each major piece of legislation is introduced by the author with a brief summary, the most important of which deals with the Industrial Injuries Act. This legislation wipes out the whole system of workmen's compensation legislation dating from 1897 and is condemned by Bever-

idge as "based on a wrong principle and dominated by a wrong outlook." Mr. Ball himself is clearly more at home in this field of law than in any of the others.

There is an account of the growth of the old system, a neat summary of the proposals in the Beveridge Report, and an analysis of the Churchill government's reasons for rejecting them. The new system is based on the same principle as the rest of the new British Social Security plan, that all will pool all the risks and take equal benefits. There is a brief discussion of "merit rating," which will particularly interest North American readers in view of the almost universal approval which that system receives on this continent. The summary of this act is written with greater sureness than those of the other acts, and the whole of Mr. Ball's notes and discussion of this piece of legislation will be of interest to those who are concerned in the legal, industrial, and social implications of injuries incurred during industrial employment.

The section on the National Insurance Act itself consists in the main of Beveridge's own summary, in Appendix B of his Report, of the development of social insurance and social assistance provisions from 1601 to 1940, followed by the summary section of the Beveridge Proposals, and then by Part I of the Government White Paper on Social Insurance.

The reader does not always find the material easy to follow. Mr. Ball's brief comments at various stages of the legislation are often lost in the mass of cross-headings and subheadings, themselves the inevitable product of intricate and complex legal drafting.

The book is well bound, and for its size not unduly expensive.

JOHN S. MORGAN

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BRIEF NOTICES

Family Casework and Counseling: A Functional Approach. Edited by JESSIE TAFT. (University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, "Social Work Process Series.") Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948. Pp. x+304. \$3.50.

In this volume the Pennsylvania School of Social Work combines its two previous publications on family case work, all but the dated articles from *A Functional Approach to Family Case Work* (1944) and Part I of its 1946 pamphlet, *Counseling and Protective Service as Family Case Work*. Each of these previous publications has been reviewed at some length

in this journal, the former in the *Social Service Review* of December, 1944, the latter in the June, 1947, issue. One new piece of material has been added to the collection—the Fox case, introduced and discussed by Miss Taft.

The major question of which Miss Taft, as editor and commentator, is in pursuit is that of the essential and specific nature of family case work, especially those practices within it which do not lean upon the structure and support of tangible agency services and therefore begin to resemble or to become "psychotherapy." This problem of the distinct and sepa-

rate function of the social case worker from that of the psychiatrist or other psychotherapist is not unique to family case work; it cuts across the field of practice at this time and is to be found both in settings where case work is practiced in only occasional consultation with psychiatry and where it is in continuous collaboration with that discipline. That twilight zone between social case work and psychotherapy where both social workers and psychiatrists venture to steal across one another's borders, or meet by plan, or collide by accident, is sorely in need of lighting up. The many recent articles on the subject attest to the efforts being made to this end. Miss Taft presents as the essential differences between psychiatry and social case work the social agency's social services, policies, procedures. These are the fixed points to which the case worker is attached even in the "counseling" case. This is a useful and steady concept; but its limitations are manifest in the case material which rubs shoulders with it, and Miss Taft, recognizing this, leaves with the reader the question as to "whether the counseling case as it is found in a social agency can be truly differentiated . . . by the fact that it has come to a social agency . . . and is met by a social worker. . . ."

As the previous reviewers have made clear, both the cases and discussion material in this book are challenging and provocative of thought. Wherever one may stand in relation to the Pennsylvania argument—as protagonist, antagonist, or simply interlocutor—the important fact is that it produces a sometimes strident but always vital dialogue. In a profession this is the essential requisite to analysis, change, and growth.

HELEN H. PERLMAN

Children and Religion. By DORA P. CHAPLIN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. Pp. ix + 230. \$2.50.

This book proceeds on the premise that "the moral life is rooted in religion" and that "within the next few years world society must lay hold of a moral life or perish. . . we have worshipped success, humanism, politics, money, self-expression, . . . each of which in turn has proved useless in a world where the thoughtful are haunted by images of ruined cities, scarred fields and starving children." We must help children "to realize a growing faith in God, . . . rediscover the life of the spirit."

All this reads very well; and so do the very practical insights into child nature that Mrs. Chaplin spices with charming anecdotes, gleaned from her long experience in liberal Episcopal church schools near Boston, of some children's candid and ingenious rebellion against conventional Sunday school indoctrination and pedagogy. Her assents and her concessions are witty and disarming. All the proper pundits on the philosophy of religion—such as Hocking, J. B. Pratt, L. P. Jacks, W. L. Sperry, George

Hodge, Fosdick, Whitehead—are cited. From the latter she quotes: "Salvation comes when the individual can dedicate himself to the cause of God's creative love in the world."

Excellent! Yet, when we look for counsel as to how to relate the church-school curriculum and procedures explicitly and vitally to the modern scene, we find nothing at all but a very literary "Service on Peace" (p. 85) featuring a cultured and noncommittal litany and two Bach organ selections. It ends with a specimen sermon by a junior department boy, commending the Marshall Plan, suggesting that atom bombing become the prerogative solely of the United Nations, and concluding: "We must begin by being good Christians," then "we must again take Christianity to the heathen countries."

Mrs. Chaplin proposed to make this lad a "good Christian" by dexterously using the most approved modern methods of pedagogy to persuade him of the *inherent* truth and value of virtually all the conventional doctrines of the church; to intrigue him into regular church attendance and prayer habits; to acquaint him superficially with the Bible, entertainingly fictionalized and pictorially glamorized—*vide* chapters viii-x on "Ways of Approach" through the Arts, Books, etc. Antidotes to still persisting "Disbelief" are prescribed in chapters xi and xii. As to how to allure the lad into being a "good Christian" with regard to his attitude toward employees, colored and backward peoples, social snobbery, economic parasitism and piracy, rapacious and ruthless stockholders, jingoist teachers, and militaristic clergymen, we are given no guidance whatsoever. Good Christian Rauschenbusch is neither quoted nor mentioned.

Dr. Jowett once said to a distressed young lady: "My child, you must believe in God in spite of what the clergymen say." With the substituted phrases, "religious education" and "religious educators," the epigram would nicely convey the reviewer's estimate of this book.

CHARLES H. LYTLE

Father of the Man. By SIR ERNEST BARKER. London: National Council of Social Service, 1948. Pp. 116. 5s.

This is a little book that warms the heart. Sir Ernest Barker is surely right when he claims in his Prologue, "My only reason for publishing my story is that it seems to me to be a social record—a record of what life was, and what opportunities it gave, in a county of Northern England some sixty years ago—which perhaps deserves preservation." The story Sir Ernest tells of his early years, up to his fellowship at Merton College, Oxford, is rich in its social implications. It is comforting to read, in these days when the President's Commission on Higher Education is pressing for better opportunities for college education, that sixty years ago a boy, the son of a cottager

in Cheshire, with no means except a sound, vigorous mind, could climb the English educational ladder to the very top. Here is the deep sense of richness of the old classical education to which the author made himself the rightful heir before he moved on, first to modern history, then in the years beyond his present tale, to leadership of a great college, and to manifold positions as a teacher and practitioner of political science.

The picture of the cottager's family life in the 1880's is a commentary on the social life of the times, and yet the author views it without bitterness or regret. From its simplicity he has drawn much strength, and amid its austerities the lamp of his learning was lit in hours of voracious indiscriminate reading without the harsh clangor of the modern neon-lighted world for competition and distraction.

The accident which brought the cottage boy to Manchester Grammar School is the kind of accident which any modern educational planner would hope to avoid by making it normal and inevitable, though that object is not yet near achievement. The solid grounding in classics, now largely gone from English as well as American educational patterns, appears in a startlingly new and fresh light as a great school of living knowledge, framed in a stark discipline of the dead languages. In a footnote the author comments: "I can only say that I got everything from the classics (history and a sense of politics as well as a feeling for literature); and I doubt if a course in 'civics' would have given me anything more." That may, of course, just be the classicist defending—or, rather, assuming—the greatness of a classical training, but the rest of this story shows that at least this author found in his classical education a depth of knowledge which compares favorably with the shallow mechanics of too many modern educational products. Interspersed with the vivid memories of a "grammarian's education" Sir Ernest shows glimpses of a sensitive, introspective boy slowly learning the arts of companionship and the pleasures of solitary rambles.

The magic that is Oxford came to this able spirit like a transformation scene in the theater, and the heritage of learning garnered in personal contact with fine minds rings through the next stage of his educational pilgrimage like solemn music. Unsophisticated, he was able, on a too modest income hardly earned, to tap its wealth of wisdom and in due course to join, in his own right, the "great company of scholars," without losing the honest burr of his native dialect or the native simplicity of his character that stands out in his reminiscences as the rock upon which he built his career. All the values of residential education, of high academic standards, of personal contacts between teachers and students, are to be found in the author's account of his years in Oxford; and these vivid memories deserve serious attention today from all who care about values in higher education. So, too, do the implications of this story for those who ponder on a university's responsibility to teach the art of living to its members, students, and faculty alike.

It is right that this story should be published by the National Council of Social Service. Its author has contributed largely from his stores of social wisdom to the Community Centres and Associations movement, perhaps the most significant nonstatutory social service development of the day in Britain. Many who value the unending traditions of scholarship should read it for its contribution to the present of much that was good in the educational patterns of the past. For one Englishman, at least, it provokes a penetrating nostalgia, not only for Oxford, but for the hills and valleys of Derbyshire, the wide-open countryside of Northumberland, for the graciousness of scholarship in lovely places and the meeting of fine minds in the slippered ease of college rooms or the hallowed respectability of the college common room. These, too, are part of education, and the universities of today neglect them at their peril.

JOHN S. MORGAN

Dynamic Mental Hygiene with Special Emphasis on Family Counseling. By ERNEST R. GROVES and CATHERINE GROVES. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Sons, 1946. Pp. 559. \$3.75.

This book is directed to the college student, and in the first chapter the authors state that its purpose is "to give a dynamic presentation of mental hygiene, to interpret to principles by applying them specifically and concretely to the experience of the home." The first part of the text deals with the interpretation of mental hygiene through family experiences with chapters on the following aspects of mental hygiene: biological, medical, psychological, psychiatric, educational, sociological, social work, legal, home and its activities, and religious. In each chapter the various contributions of each discipline are telescoped into a small space; the chapter on psychology, for example, includes a history of the development of psychology, psychological testing, and a commentary on the various schools of psychological thought and their contributions.

The second part of the book deals with family counseling: the applications of mental hygiene principles to domestic problems. Family counseling is defined and differentiated from social work, the function of the family counselor is considered, and methods of family counseling are outlined. The last chapter deals with the future of family counseling.

The Appendix contains a bibliography of general reading material, a glossary of technical terms, and study material. The study material is arranged by chapters and includes discussion questions, subjects for reports, selected readings for class reports, general readings under the subject headings, and fictional and dramatic reading references dealing with the subject matter.

HELEN MACGREGOR

Zulu Woman: Christina, First Wife of Solomon, King of the Zulus. By REBECCA HOURWICH REYHER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 282. \$3.00.

Ruth Benedict, in the Preface to this book, wonders "what 'civilized' woman would have done as well as Christina," whose story the author gathered in Zululand through day-by-day and often all-day visits by her heroine throughout a month. What she said was interpreted sentence by sentence for the writer. The reader gets a vivid close-up picture of one of many colonial situations in which Western dominance confuses and complicates native life.

Polygamy must have caused untold jealousy, bitterness, strife, and grief among wives and mothers long before the white man came among the Zulus. But Solomon was both tethered and sponsored by whites who needed to have him supply them with black laborers for their mines. Their money made him drunk with their liquor, and he became so irresponsible for his harem that he added to it uncounted wives and "girls" of lesser status and was not only careless about paying their fathers their price in cattle but sometimes forgot them in scattered kraals for months or years together. Eventually he took to wife-beating in wild and violent frenzies—perhaps of all wives and "girls" unluckily in the kraal where he was at the time. Solomon himself died at forty. Neither he nor his harem realized that alarmingly frequent deaths were not a disaster caused by witchcraft but by a new, deadly ailment the white man brought.

Christina and Ethel were perhaps the only wives who had had a bit of schooling—in a Mission. That doubtless had something to do with their better handling of their problems than others. As her story unfolds, Christina becomes for us the real person she must have been, a girl, then a woman, with love and loyalty and aspiration for a home and family. After years of suffering, her patience and forgiveness and efforts to understand were exhausted. She knew that her husband's real love was dead, and she left him for an uncertain and difficult future and secured what amounted to a divorce. That was most unheard of for the first, chief wife of a Zulu and a king. Even in so doing she refused to give the condemning answer that would have freed her quickly before the British-controlled court. Out of loyalty to Solomon she kept her real accusations for native adjudication, although it took many painful, wearying months to get the liberating verdict.

Finally, strange to us as the situations were in which these almost primitive women found themselves, the reader will probably approve the author's conclusion that these Zulu stories "proved that for me the most fascinating search in a foreign land would always be for sameness, rather than for difference."

HAZEL E. FOSTER

Atlanta, Georgia

Directory of Social Agencies of the City of New York, 1948-1949. Prepared under the direction of the COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION SERVICES OF THE WELFARE COUNCIL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 464. \$5.00.

This bulky volume is the forty-seventh directory published since the series was initiated by the Charity Organization Society in 1883. It is the seventh issued under the auspices of the Welfare Council. Obviously it has become an essential tool in the practice of social work in New York City. The material is divided into two main parts—a classification section and an alphabetical list. The former enables an inquirer to identify the agencies providing services in any of the twenty-nine fields into which the programs have been classified; the latter enables him to locate an agency by name and to find out where it is and what it does. National social agencies with offices in New York City are included.

The herculean task of assembling and verifying the mass of detailed information concerning almost eleven hundred agencies challenges admiration. The fact that there are eleven hundred organizations re-emphasizes the utterly irrational character of existing community organization, not only in New York City, but in all major American cities.

W. McM.

Introduction to the Study of Public Administration.

By LEONARD D. WHITE. 3d ed. New York: Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. xvi + 612. \$5.75.

This is a third edition of Professor White's valuable study. More than twenty years have gone by since the book was first published, and during these years of depression, war, and after-war tensions, Professor White thinks that "the institutions of democratic government have been put to a hard test." In the interesting preface to the third edition the author notes that some despaired of the survival of democratic governments and were "ready to hail the advent of new institutions that abandoned freedom for promised power and security." However, Professor White says emphatically that "any illusion that democratic institutions could not hold their own in the world struggle that opened in 1939 has vanished. We know that freedom and self-direction generate more power than tyranny and submission. The democratic pattern of state organization proved tough, resourceful, and under great stress capable of great achievements."

Bases de la seguridad social en Guatemala, Tomo I. (Publicaciones del Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social.) Guatemala, Central America, 1947. Pp. 386.

The first half of this volume, prepared by Oscar Barahona Streber and J. Walter Dittel for the Commission on Social Security appointed by the govern-

ment, consists of a study of previous efforts in the country to provide for social security through government and private efforts, as well as a compilation of various data on the social and economic conditions existing in Guatemala. This is followed by a discussion of the theory and practice of social security in general, an analysis of various possible systems, and recommendations for legislation for Guatemala. The latter part of the book consists of minutes of the commission, and the suggested legislation.

The plan proposed which was later enacted into law is of special interest because of the autonomous commission on social security resulting from these recommendations; the development of the plan by stages beginning in January, 1948, with insurance against accidents in the metropolitan area primarily; the centralization of accident, health, and old age and survivors insurance in one organization, with an annual budget and standardized allowances rather than the accumulation of great reserves and payments calculated on the individuals' contributions. The authors recognize the influence of Sir William Beveridge and Mr. W. R. Williamson upon their thinking.

Bases del programa de accidentes de trabajo en Guatemala, Tomo I. By OSCAR BARAHONA STREBER and J. WALTER DITTEL. (Publicaciones del Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social.) Guatemala, Central America, 1948. Pp. 368.

This volume is a description of the beginnings of the social security program in Guatemala. The developments during the past year, the first year of the program, have been in the field of industrial accidents primarily in Guatemala City. Other parts of the country were included before the end of the year. The development of the program to include retirement, widows' pensions, accident and health insurance will be gradual, and there are frequent descriptions of the promised expansion of the plan.

The principles on which the social security pro-

gram is based are discussed with special emphasis on "social budgeting" and "minimum protection" as fundamental to the Guatemalan plan. Social security is defined as a series of long-term, carefully planned measures to provide the population of a country with a minimum protection against various social hazards. Social budgeting is the financial plan which serves as the basis of such a social security program. All who are able to contribute are taxed to provide services and benefits for those of the total population in need.

This volume describes the processes through which the present allowances and program were developed with a valuable discussion of social and economic conditions that characterize various parts of the country.

Estudio sobre las condiciones de vida de 179 familias en la Ciudad de Guatemala. (Publicaciones de la Direccion General de Estadistica.) Guatemala, Central America, June, 1948. Pp. 126.

This is a study made of 179 families living in Guatemala City during the month of August, 1946. Questionnaires were sent 495 families who had volunteered to co-operate in the study. General information was secured in this way regarding the composition of the family, housing, its income, expenditures for food, and other expenses. Of the total group only 179 questionnaires were completed and tabulated. A group of seven inspectors with assistants visited the families to assist them in filling out the forms. While the sample is small and widely distributed in occupation and income, the study is valuable as the first of its kind in Guatemala and will doubtless result in further exploration of the standard of living among the various economic and social groups of this interesting country, which for the past four years has been busily engaged in putting into effect the promises of the social and economic revolution of 1944.

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Annual Message of William N. Erickson, President, Board of Commissioners of Cook County, Illinois, and President of the Board of Forest Preserve Commissioners, for the Fiscal Year 1948. Chicago, 1949. Pp. 330.

The tradition of detailed annual reports by the Cook County Commissioners is well established. The present volume is no exception. Any taxpayer can find information here about any of the numerous functions for which the county commissioners are responsible. He may even gain a vivid picture of the work of the county from the scores of attractive photographs that enliven the document.

But the question inevitably arises: Does this extensive report do all that an annual report should do—especially the annual report of a political subdivision that appropriated approximately thirty-five million dollars from the Corporate Fund (which does not include construction of highways and certain other activities) in 1948 and that serves approximately four and a half million people? The answer to this question is: No. Annual reports should discharge two obligations: (1) They should give an account of what has been done during the past fiscal period, and (2) they should present the plans and objectives of the various services for the future.

The first of these obligations is adequately met by the present report. The second is almost completely ignored. Chairman Erickson says: "Our goals are well defined and our course is well charted" (p. 5). But he does not reveal to us what these plans envisage. We are told, for example (p. 89), about the high rate of turnover of personnel in the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, but we are not informed as to whether the commissioners have developed some means of dealing with the problem. Likewise we are informed of the obstacles (p. 52) that have prevented slum clearance in Robbins and other outlying sections that are within the jurisdiction of the Cook County Housing Authority, but we do not find here any statement of plans to overcome these obstacles. Other illus-

trations could be cited to indicate that the report tells the taxpayer what has been done but leaves him in the dark as to what is contemplated.

Since the major responsibilities of the commissioners relate to the public social services, most of the divisions of the report are of immediate interest to social workers. Here are to be found accounts of the work of such basic services, institutions, and agencies as the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, the Cook County Housing Authority, the Oak Forest Institutions, the County Health Department, the Cook County Hospital, the Public Defender, the Court Service Division, the Psychopathic Hospital, the social services of the Juvenile Court, the recreation program of the Forest Preserve. The statistics indicate that the volume of services rendered by each of these divisions is stupendous. In many instances, however, the figures do not come to life because the text gives neither an adequate analysis of the problems that come to the organization nor a description of the methods used in solving them.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

Your Chicago Department of Welfare Accounts for the Investment of \$15,184,156: Annual Report, Department of Welfare of the City of Chicago, 1948. Pp. 24.

The closing pages of this brief report include nine statistical tables. The preceding pages present the same facts with some amplifying detail in a series of terse statements set forth in bold type. These statements, addressed to the taxpayer, are in the following arresting form: "You heard requests for help from over 100,000 men and women during 1948"; "You placed on jobs 1,200 men and 700 women in 1948"; "You pioneered in the treatment of dependent alcoholics with the establishment of Portal House." This style could not be sustained in a lengthy report, but in this brief document it contributes

to the purpose that was obviously uppermost in the mind of the director: to produce a very brief report in a form and style so striking that reader resistance would be reduced to a minimum. This objective was achieved at the sacrifice, no doubt, of much interesting material.

W. McM.

Second Interim Report concerning Care of the Chronically Ill in Illinois, June, 1947. By the COMMISSION ON THE CARE OF CHRONICALLY ILL PERSONS. Springfield, Ill. Pp. xv+279.

This *Second Interim Report* dealing with the care of chronically ill persons in Illinois is a document which should prove of inestimable value to all who are concerned with the serious unmet needs of this disadvantaged segment of the state's population. Chief among its merits is its approach to the problem as one of broad public health significance rather than as one related only to the issue of economic status. Previous studies, in limiting their scope to a consideration of facilities and services required by indigent chronically ill persons, focused narrowly on measures that were within the compass of public relief funds and were related chiefly to extending or modifying existing resources designed for custodial and ameliorative care.

The present report, in its approach to chronic illness as a public health problem of first magnitude to the state, appropriately puts primary emphasis on the need for research to prevent, or at least minimize, some of the conditions leading to loss of productive capacity and invalidism. The recommendation of major significance, formulated at the request of the Commission by Dr. Andrew C. Ivy, vice-president of the University of Illinois, is for the establishment of a research institute for the study of chronic illness and geriatrics, as a part of the University of Illinois College of Medicine. It is a far-reaching proposal, in line with the thinking of leading medical and public health authorities in the United States; and in setting the focus for the other recommendations of this Commission, it places Illinois in the forefront of national leadership on this problem.

In the formulation of its nine other recommendations, the Commission has made effective use of experts from several fields to outline a program for the development of a well co-ordinated system of institutional facilities for the

diagnosis, treatment, and custodial care of the chronically ill. Cognizance has been taken of existing agencies and services, public and private, and of the desirability of local and state planning which will productively use present and potential future resources for sound, carefully integrated expansion. Especially significant in these recommendations is the emphasis on the rehabilitation of chronically ill persons to whatever degree of capacity is possible for the individual handicapped patient. Recognition is given to the comprehensive range of services contributing to rehabilitation, which of necessity include social case work. Too often the possibilities for rehabilitation are overlooked in a narrow focus on medical and physical care; and few persons have the sensitivity and creative vision essential to perceive the positive capacities for satisfying living even in persons whose handicaps are so severe as to prevent economic self-maintenance. The stress given to this essential aspect of planning for the chronically ill is not only inherently commendable but a sound approach also to the goal of prevention, or amelioration, of the tragic waste of human capacity.

The report is well prepared for utilization by the various professions and groups who may be involved in planning for the chronically ill. The initial summary of recommendations is elaborated by sections in the Appendix prepared by the specialists in the fields covered, which give specific guidance. Of these, the section on "Chronic Illness in Metropolitan Chicago," prepared by the Central Service for the Chronically Ill, is especially valuable in its comprehensiveness and applicability, in fundamental essentials, to the planning of any community.

DORA GOLDSTINE

University of Chicago

Public Assistance: A Report to the Senate Committee on Finance from the Advisory Council on Security. (80th Cong., 2d sess., Senate Document No. 204.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. ix+43.

The Advisory Council on Social Security was appointed by the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate on September 17, 1947. The Council, numbering seventeen members, is a citizens' group of wide representation, under the chairmanship of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.,

with Sumner H. Slichter as associate chairman. This *Report*, dated August 5, 1948, is the third to be submitted. The first report covered old age and survivors' insurance, and the second recommended the establishment of a permanent and total disability insurance program. Recommendations related to unemployment insurance are to be submitted in the fourth report.

The Advisory Council's *Report on Public Assistance* includes recommendations for modifying the existing state-federal programs, i.e., old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind, and for the establishment of a state-federal general assistance program for needy persons. The Council reaffirms its conviction that social security should be provided in so far as possible through insurance rather than through assistance. Assistance payments, however, would still be necessary for those who are not covered by the insurance program or for those in unusual circumstances who need assistance to supplement their insurance benefits.

The *Report* makes six specific recommendations:

1. The federal government's responsibility for aid to dependent children should be made comparable to that in effect for old age assistance and aid to the blind. At present the federal government participates to a maximum of \$27 for the first child and \$18 for each additional child in the family. The figure is \$50 for old age assistance and aid to the blind. Federal funds for the two last-named programs equal three-fourths of the first \$20 average monthly payment, with even matching thereafter to the maximum of \$50.

2. Federal grants-in-aid should be made available to the states for general assistance payments to persons in need who are not now eligible under the three existing public assistance programs, but on a lesser matching basis.

3. The federal government should participate in payments made directly to agencies and individuals providing medical care, as well as in money payments to recipients, as at present.

4. The federal government should participate in payments made to or for the care of old age assistance recipients living in public medical institutions other than mental hospitals.

5. Federal funds should not be available to states which impose more than one-year residence requirements for old age assistance.

6. A commission should be appointed to study child health and welfare needs.

The *Report*, which includes a number of tables and graphs, covers 42 pages. It is known

as Senate Document No. 204—Eightieth Congress, second session. It may be secured without cost from the United States Government Printing Office, Washington.

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Eighteenth Annual Report of the Division of Parole of the Executive Department, State of New York, January 1, 1947 to December 31, 1947. (Legislative Document, 1948, No. 71.) Albany, 1948. Pp. 183.

This is another comprehensive and useful annual report on the work of the largest parole agency in the United States, which now has a total staff of four hundred and an annual appropriation in excess of \$1,000,000. Nearly twelve thousand persons were under active supervision of the agency all or part of the year. The Division, which is separate from the Department of Correction and the Department of Social Welfare, is headed by a full-time board appointed by the governor, which was increased from three to five members by the 1947 legislature. Under the present form of organization, the chairman, selected by the other board members, supervises the work of the Board and the Division. Parole selection responsibilities are assumed by three-member committees designated by the chairman, which conduct hearings at the several institutions. The unique administrative organization for the supervisory phase of the program provides for the division of the state into five districts, with a member of the Board in charge of each district.

The personnel situation has shown some improvement. In 1946, the legislature finally removed the \$3,000 statutory maximum for annual salaries of parole officers, which had been in effect since 1930. According to many previous annual reports, this was a serious handicap to the Division's attempts to build up a career service by attracting and retaining competent personnel. During 1947 a new salary schedule was established, which provided a range of \$3,582-\$4,308 for parole officers, and \$4,242-\$5,232 for senior parole officers, including the temporary cost-of-living increases. Even if this falls short of adequate compensation for so important a task, at least it represents some movement in the right direction.

The *Report* contains a brief, interesting description of the Service Unit at Wallkill State

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Prison, which has been operated since 1937 as an experimental co-operative enterprise by the Department of Correction and the Division of Parole. The general objective of the Unit is to "act as the coordinating agency serving the interests of the institution, parole and the inmate in the planning and execution of treatment programs, based upon individual needs, which are designed to prepare the inmate for his return to the community." The specific objectives of this program are spelled out in some detail, and its utility is described and discussed. It seems unfortunate that no reference is made to the size or qualifications of the staff used in the Service Unit. Its extension to other institutions is recommended, and the clarification of staff needs should be a matter of prime importance.

Following the general pattern of its predecessors, the *Report* is well organized, the presentation of available data is reasonably clear, and there is adequate interpretation of the process of selection for parole. Nevertheless, the role of the parole officer in supervision is given only passing attention, and this seems to be a specific weakness. It is acknowledged that annual reports serve many and diverse purposes, and many desirable objectives must be excluded in the interest of the chosen focus and emphasis, but the interpretation of the supervisory function deserves more consideration than is customarily given in the reports of the Division of Parole. This interpretation seems even more important here, since there is a presentation of the general rules of parole (pp. 68-70), which consist mainly of the traditional negative precepts. In this connection, it is about time that parole systems recognize the inherent weaknesses of the negative approach and courageously emphasize the positive aspects of conduct. With its stability and good general reputation, the New York program should be in a position to take a progressive and realistic stand on this issue.

On the whole, this is a competently prepared, valuable statement. Very few parole agencies report in detail upon their work, and the Division of Parole deserves credit for bringing its important service to the attention of the public.

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Budget Survey of State Mental Hospitals. Conducted by the Illinois Department of Finance. By M. A. SAUNDERS, Director, and

T. R. LETH, Assistant to the Director. Springfield, Ill. 1948. Pp. 97.

The data for this study were collected from the forty-eight states by means of questionnaires. Although this method does not provide ideal coverage of the complex questions under review, nevertheless the study did produce considerable information that will be helpful to many state officials.

Replies in tabular form are presented for each of the queries on the questionnaire. This information for each state, with the necessary qualifying notes, makes up the bulk of the report. Two preliminary sections, however, define the problem in some detail and summarize the chief findings of the study.

On any given day the population of the state mental hospitals is equivalent to that of a city as large as New Orleans. At an average cost of \$1.44 per day, the states are spending \$283 million per year on the care of these patients; and this figure includes neither the millions needed for new construction nor the cost of outpatient clinics and other preventive programs.

Wide variations in per capita costs were found among the states. This variation cannot be accounted for solely by differences in geography and in wealth. The real differences stem chiefly from disparities in standards and in scope of program.

The following provocative comment with respect to surplus commodities provided free of charge by the federal government will be of interest to administrators of other types of agencies that are likewise beneficiaries: "The windfall may be used to raise the diet standards to a point unanticipated when budget requirements were set up. This has the effect of making a continuing commitment to a costlier scale of operations without advance assent by those who must guard the purse strings. Second, the receipt of the surplus gifts may conceal the fact that funds are insufficient to provide the full amount of food necessary. In this case, when the quantity of the gifts contracts, the administration may face an emergency which it is not prepared to meet."

Ten states use Bureau of Labor Statistics indexes in the budgeting operation. It is surprising to learn that twenty-three states have developed their own indexes because they believe that the pricing of institutional commodities differs appreciably from the Bureau's standard market indexes.

W. McM.

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